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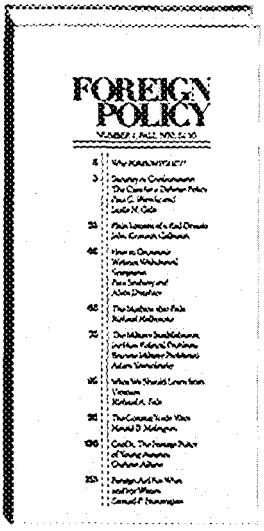

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VOLUME TWO NUMBER TEN
DECEMBER 1970

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Letters

The Navy's Stewards

Your article ["The Floating Plantation," October, 1970] describes a problem which seems to defy all attempts at its solution. I have lost the details of my own efforts in 1963-64, but whatever they were, nothing happened.

Later on in 1967-69 when I was Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower) I tried again, this time in conjunction with Paul Warnke who, as Assistant Secretary for International Security Affairs, was able authoritatively to knock down the foreign policy arguments advanced by the Navy. My recollection is that Secretary of the Navy Paul Ignatius agreed with us, and there was a resolve to phase out the enlistment program for Filipino messboys. I have no knowledge of current plans on the subject.

ALFRED B. FITT
New Haven, Conn.

Mr. Fitt is the Special Advisor to the president of Yale University.

I have just finished reading your article on Filipino stewards in the Navy and Coast Guard (October, 1970). I don't think any article written about stewards in the United States Armed Forces is complete without mentioning the part that the black man, usually involuntarily, played in that role; I saw no such mention in your article.

In June of 1950, I joined the United States Coast Guard as a young idealistic person who wanted to serve his country. I was immediately assigned, as all the other blacks were, to the steward branch. We were given six weeks of valet training and assigned to the Coast Guard Academy. Our workday started at 6:00 a.m. and ended at 8:00 p.m. with some time off, usually about an hour, between meals.

My experiences as a steward have left a deep emotional scar on me that I will undoubtedly have the rest of my life. I am just one of many.

HERBERT C. BUCHANAN
Suitland, Md.

Middle America Revisited

As one of the "wounded, terrified people" of Smithtown, suffering from "advanced paranoia" ["Up Against the Barbecue: Smithtown Middle America," October], I would like to inform your readers by this letter that any resemblance between the community depicted by Miss Suzannah Lessard and the town in which I have lived for 39 years, ceases at the end of the first sentence of the article. But then how could I stand up to the perceptive analysis of Miss Lessard. After all, other than having been a life-time resident of Smithtown, its Town Attorney for six years, its Supervisor (Mayor) for another six years, and its current Legislator, I have nothing to offer in terms of credentials.

JOHN V. N. KLEIN
Smithtown, N.Y.

Your Smithtown article received the following comments from my neighbors:

"It's not flattering to Smithtown, I think she is needling us."

"If there are people in Smithtown who think that way, I never met them."

"Maybe I'm prejudiced, but I like Smithtown. People have great compassion for one another, they are not like those people who ignored the man with the heart attack."

"I think she decided long ago that Smithtown was filled with mean, narrow-minded people, and this was her chance to get back at the town."

"She describes the three other corners of Rt. 111 and Rt. 25 but she left out the library. I think the library is a very important influence in this town."

"She is right, but she comes on too strong. When you get beneath the surface, you find people suffering, bleeding."

My own opinion of the piece is that you are telling truth as you observed it. I recognize many of the things you mentioned. The last part, about Billie Backer, I know is accurate. She has suffered terrible humiliations from her speaking out. Many are now listening to her and trying to help her.

JOAN N. FOLK
Smithtown, N.Y.

More on the NBW

Your investigation of the National Bank of Washington ("Moral Ostrichism: Blindness on a Bank Board" by John Rothchild,

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November) is an excellent job of reporting, which is, if anything, unnecessarily kind to the directors of the bank. You might have included, for example, some of the following curiosities about the institution over which they preside with such firm rectitude:

1. You note that the NB of W has a reputation for stinginess—that it loans out much less of its deposits than most banks. Actually the bank seems to have a divided mind on the subject, as evidenced by its willingness to make long-term loans to Congressmen at the remarkably benevolent interest rate of 6.3%. Ordinary members of the public pay a minimum of 8% for the same loans (as much as 12% in some cases) and must provide the usual substantial collateral, but Congressmen are allowed to use their *future salaries* as collateral. One such beneficiary is William Cowger, Republican Congressman from Louisville, Ky., who at this writing is in an undecided race for re-election against Roman Mazzoli. I will be curious to know what the bank will do about Rep. Cowger's loan if he loses the election—and his collateral.

2. PEPCO president Stephen R. Woodzell, a bank director, told your reporter he didn't see where the United Mine Workers was "of prime importance" to the bank. So soon he forgets. The United Mine Workers borrowed $375,000 from its bank deposits to loan to a coal investment firm in Morgantown, W. Va., to subsidize the Kingwood Mining Company, a non-union firm, and make it possible for Kingwood to buy heavy equipment with which to strip-mine 2,000 tons of coal per day for purchase and consumption by PEPCO. Woodzell was made a director of the bank by bank chairman Barnum Colton, an associate and protégé of John L. Lewis, and after Woodzell joined the board he transferred PEPCO's bank accounts to the National Bank of Washington. No doubt, however, the United Mine Workers, despite their ownership of the bank, had no influence in any of the above activity.

3. The union-owned bank loaned $1.5 million to Kentucky Oak Mining Co. of eastern Kentucky, which operates the largest strip mines in that part of the state and has been found in violation of Kentucky's strip mine law more often than any other company. Kentucky Oak, a non-union employer, has a long-term contract with the Tennessee Valley Authority, which it was able to get partly by charging a lower price per ton than its competitors, who did not benefit from an NB of W subsidy. The same bank has loaned more than $25 million to other coal companies to help them bottle up the TVA market and drive out of business scores of employers in Kentucky and Tennessee who could not meet the reduced prices of the giant companies. One such company, West Kentucky Coal, found that it had priced its coal so low in order to get the TVA contract that it was losing money on every ton, and it defaulted on an $8 million loan. This loss was never reported to the UMW membership, despite the technical fact that they own the bank, and they were thus never able to convey to Messrs. Woodzell, Clifford, et al., their approval or disapproval of the bank's lending policies. No doubt, however, this is as it should be. Upstanding community leaders like those interviewed in your article hardly need guidance and advice from grubby old union men.

TOM BETHELL
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Bethell, a contributing editor of The Washington Monthly, *is editor of Appalachia Information.*

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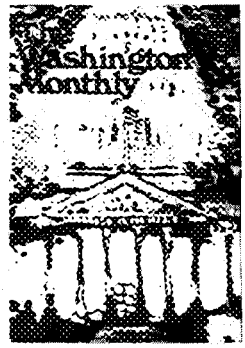

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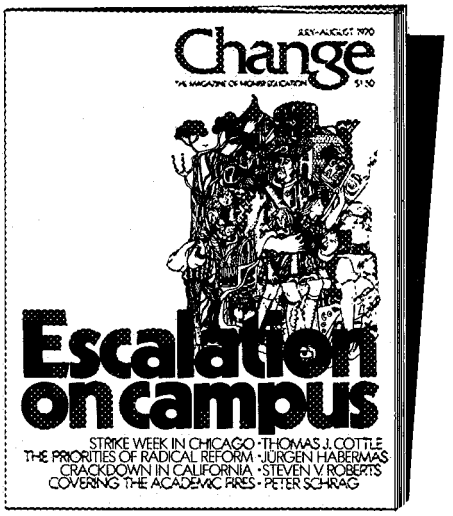

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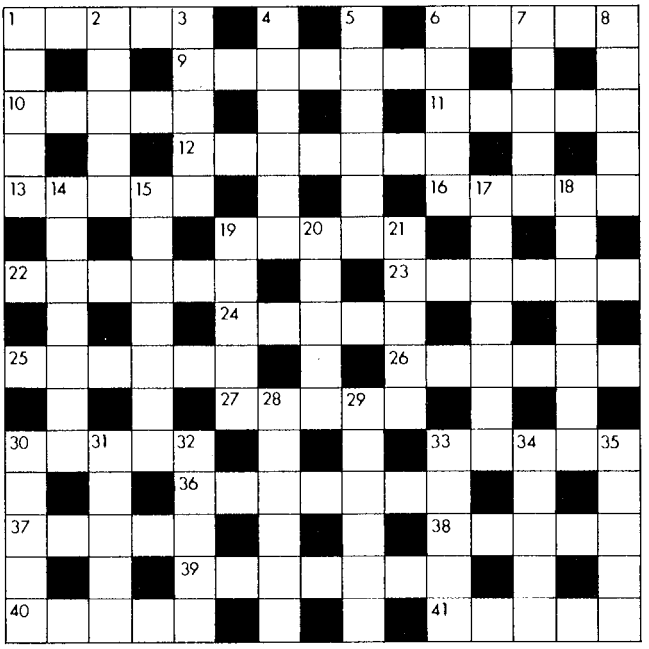
The Political Puzzle

by John Barclay



Across

1. A Pope for today's problems. (5)
6. 17 Down is no sop for him. (5)
9. Bad to put the French here in upset lilt. (7)
10. Use sonar to start fire. (5)
11. Fits in front of a Grecian urn. (3,2)
12. Mitchell wants latch-string out for cops. (2-5)
13. In Kansas, sycophants talk back. (5)
16. Reb leader falls in as he well should. (5)
19. Tool makes dentist sick too. (5)
22. Fuzz made by pile co. (6)
23. Hits and runs and then what? (6)
24. With this gang I can no longer keep up. (5)
25. They go portal-to-portal. (6)
26. Rental horn has its points. (6)
27. Where there is really a lot at stake. (5)
30. Sow it one plus one. (2,3)
33. This jerk as MP's found him. (5)
36. When Sir used his own tins, his grammar was good. (7)
37. Par for the course for overseas mail. (5)
38. This girl has 'em surrounded, we hear. (5)
39. Former river sounds too far out. (7)
40. Royal family puts doctor in out back. (5)
41. Resin holds tight. (5)

Down

1. Name mountains after Nat to fit in easily. (5)
2. Raids the statuary? (5)
3. Silly hostelry in New York. (5)
4. Pond in father will satisfy thirst. (6)
5. Coolish? Not I, I am here to learn. (6)
6. Stir up the OK set. (5)
7. Fat Dallas obstetrician heads toward Miami. (5)
8. Car for 22 Across. (5)
14. French lawyers form a vast company. (7)
15. Bad place to take word back after winter sport. (4, 3)
17. How wet pair listens in. (7)
18. Big ship evidences generosity. (7)
19. He led at the game. (5)
20. "I do it," said 3 Down. (5)
21. "It's not 9 Across without Ed," alleged he. (5)
28. One oft conceals something remarkable. (2,4)
29. Hymn to the man. (6)
30. This paint just does not suit anyone. (5)
31. Harsh to a degree. (5)
32. New or old, he has it. (5)
33. For a sneezer it is not easy to look down. (5)
34. New senator to aid Los Angeles. (5)
35. Coin shops taste good? (5)

The numbers indicate the number of letters and words, e.g., (2, 3) means a two-letter word followed by a three-letter word. Groups of letters, e.g., USA, are treated as one word. Answers to last month's puzzle are on page 27.

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What's Good for the Country is Good for GM

by Philip W. Moore

We've just completed an election, in which some 450 congressional seats, 33 Senate seats, and more than 20 gubernatorial spots were up for grabs. The contests were vigorously fought, having gone through the public preliminaries of primaries. Thousands of people worked for the candidate of their choice, and the candidates spent millions of dollars trying to get their views across to the people that would elect them. And in November millions of people cast their vote for the candidate that they felt best represented their views.

The victors will go to Washington and find other people from other districts representing different views. And together these people will deliberate, debate, and pass laws, hopefully reflecting the merged interest of the entire country. Every two years the process will be repeated, doing its best to keep our governmental institutions honest and responsive to the people these institutions were set up to serve.

This spring corporate America will go through its annual election process. A few white male directors will nominate a few other directors, put them on their ballot, and send it to their shareholders—the corporate electorate. There is no debate, no campaign, and no contest, just a Russian Ballot. These nominees will all be elected with at least 95 per cent of the vote, and they will retire to board rooms with their fellow board members, all representing the same interest. There they will quietly make decisions that will fundamentally affect millions of people who are not entitled to vote in these corporate elections.

Corporate reform today is a natural and appropriate extension of the social and political movements of the sixties. We directed our efforts then

Philip W. Moore is executive director of the Project on Corporate Responsibility.

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toward institutions of government and the courts—to begin facing an entire spectrum of social wrongs. But it never really worked. We created a new consciousness, we got new court decisions, we passed new laws and adopted big federal programs, and we began to democratize political structures. In the process, however, we sapped our energies with illusory victories. We discovered what we all probably knew—that regardless of new laws or consciousness, their objectives would not be accomplished without a commitment of our corporate institutions, which have enough power to implement or deny national goals. So now the movement of the sixties is redirecting its energies from institutions of government to institutions of private power.

Corporate responsibility is usually assumed to be an effort to make corporate leaders make social decisions. When economists like Milton Friedman oppose corporate responsibility, they oppose the suggestion that *corporate leaders* should make social decisions instead of business decisions. While it may be well for corporations to be charitable citizens like individuals, I reach, at least in part, the same conclusions as Friedman. Corporate leaders have too much power and are too insulated to be entrusted with the responsibility of making judgments on our national needs. Too often we would see a repeat of what the presidents of Dow and AT&T said—that they sold arms or napalm to the government not for reasons of profit, but for reasons of patriotism.

The problem, of course, is that corporate leaders *already* make social decisions—unrestrained by economic models of corporate beneficence. Large, modern corporations wield at least three kinds of private power that would have disturbed Adam Smith. First, they possess enormous political power through lobbying, campaign contributions, and advertising—no

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"The invisible hand, far from protecting us, is poisoning our air and water and generally is in our pockets."

longer relying merely on the market quality of their products to keep them in business. Second, corporate leaders make decisions which do violence by pollution to customers, non-customers, and future generations alike; and these decisions are protected by the subtlety of pollution, the romance of private enterprise, and the political power of large corporations. Third, corporate leaders perpetrate considerable fraud on consumers without great fear of governmental displeasure or retaliation in the marketplace.

These corporate powers are preserved because we still cling to the old view that business is business—a private matter between the company and the customer—while ignoring all business activities aside from the actual sale of a radio to John Doe. Also, we cling to the notion that competition will save the economy from politics—protecting John Doe from the corporations, and the privacy of business from government regulation. The fact is that competition is fading. Shopkeepers, artisans, and other small businesses still have to scramble, but they are giving way to mergers, conglomerates, and monopolies. The invisible hand, far from protecting us, is poisoning our water and air. And generally the invisible hand is in our pockets.

The thrust of corporate responsibility is to require corporations to be responsible for the social harms that the ordinary conduct of their business creates. The issue is not whether business leaders should make social decisions—clearly they shouldn't—it is the other way around. We should recognize that business decisions already have a fundamental social and public impact outside of or removed from the normal business-customer relationship, and explore whether that impact shall be suicidal or constructive.

Despite the enormous impact of their decisions (Litton Industries, for example, was able to reverse United States foreign policy toward the Greek junta by floating a $900 million loan to the regime), corporate executives generally remain free of the social and legal restraints to which our political leaders are subject. These decisions are made by a few men, behind closed doors, shielded by ideological concepts of competition and privacy, and insulated by a false attitude that corporate decisions are matters purely of business, not subject to political and social considerations. These leaders point to the free market and the invisible hand to protect the consumer from corporate excesses. And they point to the government to protect the public. Yet, these same corporations spend most of their lives trying to control markets and opposing legislation designed to protect the public from the adverse impact of corporate decisions. Just witness how the auto industry pulled out its big guns to dilute the clean air bill passed by the Senate, or how the oil industry successfully opposes the relaxation of import quotas.

The fact of the matter is that economic models simply do not protect the migrant worker from Coca Cola's Minute Maid transgressions; nor the consumer from General Motors dominance; nor the insurance policy holder from an arbitrary insurance premium; nor the black from historic discrimination. What is the black student in Mississippi supposed to do, for example, when insurance companies make a business judgment that integration in Mississippi is an uninsurable risk, and thus cancels all insurance at integrated schools? In effect the insurance company will insure only segregated

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"Last year James Roche was paid $795,000 by GM, or $379 an hour—100 times the average United Auto Worker."

schools, creating a major disincentive for integration. The federal government hardly offers any solution—federal loan programs cannot move ahead if the schools are not insured. Should the black student wait around until federal insurance programs are passed? What chance does the Mississippi black student have against the corporate giants in the insurance industry?

The anger and frustration created by corporate decisions are exacerbated by the reality that the decision-makers derive wealth from their decisions on the one hand and escape the tragic consequences of their decisions on the other.

James Roche is chairman of General Motors Corporation. His car works, it never breaks down, and he has no worries about warranty plans. In his world there are no traffic jams—he commutes around rush hours. Air pollution, racial problems, and poverty are largely academic to him. In Bloomfield Hills, where he lives, the air and the people are white. Last year Roche was paid $795,000 by General Motors, or $379 an hour, 100 times what the average United Auto Worker earns and nearly four times what the President of the United States is paid.

Living in this antiseptic world, it is no surprise that Roche demonstrates a remarkable insensitivity to the problems that affect us today. He says that no blacks and women have been elected to the board of directors because none have been nominated. When asked who nominated the General Motors board, he answered the directors. Last year the directors nominated two new people, who were elected (as always). Under questioning at the annual meeting he said that these men (one the chairman of the Mellon Bank in Pittsburgh, the other an officer of Marshall Field and Company) were nominated by the unanimous consent of the board, and no other person was even considered for the job. When questioned still further by the press on black directors, Roche answered cynically, "There are a lot of whites who haven't been nominated either." On African employees in South Africa, Roche has said, "There are none who are foremen or upper management, because those are jobs reserved for white people."

Roche may be the single most powerful man in the country. In his capacity as chairman of General Motors he controls $24 billion each year in gross sales, giving him an annual budget bigger than any state in the country and every country in the world except the United States and the Soviet Union. General Motors employs 800,000 people, the largest employer in the country except the federal government. General Motors sells cars to more than three million people through more than 13,000 dealers (of whom 10 are non-white). Its customers buy cars, purchase tires, buy gas and oil, and drive on highways. General Motors has nearly a million and a half shareholders who get a small chunk of the profits each year. It has $8 billion of cash surplus on deposit at some 380 banks around the world. General Motors annually provides some $250 million of advertising revenue to hundreds of television and radio stations, as well as to newspapers and magazines. It is a major client for many law firms around the country and a large source of scholarship and research money for many of our universities.

These figures represent massive

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public power. The press worries about its news coverage when General Motors makes phone calls. General Motors reportedly cancelled $80,000 worth of advertising in a Washington newspaper for giving too much coverage to "consumer matters." Sometimes the power is brought to bear when matters of high policy are not involved, as when GM temporarily cancelled its *Wall Street Journal* advertising after the paper ran a sneak preview of the 1958 automobile models. Universities get concerned when GM calls the scholarship office instead of the business office about stock voting, as it did in last spring's Campaign GM. The United Auto Workers strike power against General Motors has been exercised only once every 20 years, and the other auto companies consistently keep their prices on the par with GM in order not to incur its wrath. Law firms worry about representing dissident clients for fear of losing General Motors or other allied corporate clients. Bank officials worry about opposing General Motors management for fear of losing deposits. The list of power, as fundamental as it is subtle, simply has no end.

Despite all the potential good that could flow from this power, General Motors does incredibly little to solve the very problems to which its decisions contribute. While spending $250 million a year on advertising and $500 million a year on styling for new models, i.e., how your car looks, General Motors last year spent only $12 million on anti-pollution research and development. If just once General Motors decided to develop a two-year model instead of a one-year model, it would have available some 40 times what it now spends on pollution. But the current decision-makers have no such plans. Indeed, Edward Cole, president of General Motors, is quoted as saying that "planned obsolescence is synonymous with progress" and tells stockholders that the cost of innovation will come out of dividends instead of advertising budgets.

It is actually far too kind to picture General Motors as merely indifferent to automotive innovations that would be in the public interest. The corporation has actively *resisted* such changes, and this resistance has become more obvious ever since Dr. Arlie Haagen-Smit discovered the chemical relationship between exhaust fumes and Los Angeles smog pollution in 1953. GM put no pollution reduction equipment on its standard national cars until forced to do so by the federal government 15 years later. Instead, the company lobbied against every major air pollution bill, arguing technical and economic impossibility (the current line, however, is that the problem is virtually solved).

General Motors and its dependent companies have fought attempts to develop alternatives to the internal combustion engine, leaving the shoestring efforts by scientists and engineers to be strangled by lack of capital and non-cooperation from suppliers. In his new book, *What's Good for GM*, Edward Ayres tells the story of Calvin and Charles Williams, two Pennsylvania mechanics who built a steam-propelled car in their back yard. Ayres reports that in 1968 a new Ford was tested against the Williams' car for pollution performance, and a Senate Commerce Committee staff report found that the conventional car produced, in Ayres' words, "37 times as much oxides of nitrogen, 45 times as much hydrocarbons, and 70 times as much carbon monoxide as the steam car." Nevertheless, the Williams brothers couldn't obtain financing to further develop their car from any bank —a plight perhaps related to the fact that GM board members hold directorships in most of the nation's major banks, including the following sample: Morgan Guaranty Trust Company, First National Bank of New York, First National Bank of St. Louis, Mellon National Bank and Trust Company, American Fletcher National Bank and Trust Company, St. Louis Union Trust Company, First National Bank of Boston, the National Bank of Detroit, the Royal Bank of Canada,

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and the Montreal Trust Company.

General Motors has also fought pressures for solutions to the minor problems which bother the auto owner and his pocketbook, such as crumpling bumpers. Current Detroit products cannot withstand crashes at more than 2.8 miles per hour without requiring expensive repairs for lights, hoods, trunks, and chrome frills. The car manufacturers have made little, some say negative, progress on bumper safety, even though the technology is readily available. Ayres cites a bumper designed independently by Menasco Manufacturing Company, which is "demonstrably capable of surviving crashes at *10 times* the speeds GM and Ford had publicly branded as impossible." General Motors argues that consumer style preferences hamstring bumper reforms, but the company leaves out other impediments—such as the crucial role that the limp bumper plays in maintaining the $6 billion accident repair business.

General Motors has opposed the little reforms just like the big ones, and through it all the key preservative has been market control, which depends on a lack of antitrust enforcement by the government. GM has been acquitted in only three of 17 antitrust cases in the last 40 years, but all the others had no great effect on GM's market concentration. And, says Edward Ayres, "The largest fine GM ever had to pay. . . was $56,200—and that heavy burden was shared with several other corporations." The GM automotive division remains immune from being broken up, even though it controls 50 to 55 per cent of auto industry sales (let alone its other holdings), while Justice Department guidelines interpret any market share above eight per cent as a violation of the Clayton Antitrust Act. There is apparently a certain level of power at which a major corporation can enforce its own definition of competition and monopoly.

What is important about General Motors is that it exemplifies a characteristic common to all big corporations—its decisions have a direct effect on millions of people who have no voice in their making. While a certain policy may seem good within the context of the GM boardroom as presently constituted, the considerations on which it was based are far removed from the larger public constituency that policy will affect. It is bad enough that General Motors' decisions have an adverse public impact, but what is worse is that they are made by so few people. If, for instance, consumers had a real voice in whether GM invested in auto safety or style, GM's policy might be very different.

Corporations once fought for independence from government, but now the big ones have become its fourth branch. As political reform should end decisions made behind closed doors by bosses, so too should corporate reform end the insulated decision-making of corporate executives. Large corporations are political institutions, affecting everyone.

There are many tactical alternatives in developing a new corporate decision-making process. Shareholders, of course, are the theoretical owners of corporations and the obvious forum for exploring areas of corporate reform. Traditionally used to seek corporate reform of internal business, the shareholder route has recently been used in efforts to get the corporations to reform the public impact of its business decisions.

The main thrust of any shareholder appeal must be to get shareholders to use their power to achieve reforms that affect them as employees, consummers, or members of the public. The small shareholder in General Motors, for example, may get $50 a year in dividends, but he pays out an average of $225 a year in car repairs and immense amounts for medical bills, at least some of which is attributable to accident rates and air pollution. Even if some corporate reform might diminish the dividends, the reduction may be more than offset by

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"GM controls $24 billion each year in gross sales and an annual budget bigger than any country except the U.S. and U.S.S.R."

the lower expenses. Indeed, one insurance company, Allstate, has offered to reduce auto insurance premiums by 20 per cent if automobile manufacturers will develop a bumper which prevents damage at five miles per hour. A GM shareholder with 10 shares paying $34 a year, could sacrifice all of his dividend and still come out $16 ahead with the insurance savings.

Institutional shareholders, the real owners of any corporation, have their own constituency which they must represent in determining how to approach their investment portfolio. Millions of these shares are held in trust by banks, which generally vote them without polling the owners of the stock. But members of a union pension fund, for example, should be able to demand of the bank that the shares held for the fund be voted in a manner which they direct. During Campaign GM the Morgan Guaranty Bank voted all of its million and a half shares of General Motors without consulting any of its beneficiaries. The Southern Conference Educational Fund, which had several thousand GM shares in trust to Morgan Guaranty, wanted to vote in favor of the Campaign GM. In order to do so, it had to threaten suit against Morgan Guaranty, and the bank finally had to recall all of its proxies and vote again. Harvard University, owner of some 300,000 shares of General Motors stock, announced that it would seek the views of the university community in determining how to vote its stock. Every group polled, the alumni, the students, and the faculty, supported the Campaign's proposals. Yet, Harvard's five-man corporation refused to follow the mandate and instead supported General Motors management.

In some instances the shareholders may be the only route available to reform corporate policies. There is a citrus farming operation in Florida called Alico which relies heavily on migrant workers. Alico is a subsidiary of a railroad holding company which is in effect controlled by the Mercantile Bank in Baltimore. In order to get to the real decision-makers of Alico, one must go to the real owners of Mercantile. One of the major shareholders of the Mercantile Bank is the Johns Hopkins Hospital, an institution devoted to health. Johns Hopkins' current philosophy is that its investments in Mercantile are purely for financial return, even though the company contributes to the ill health of hundreds of migrant workers. Now if Johns Hopkins could be made to assert an investment posture that was consistent with its primary purposes, e.g., health, the kind of pressure that could be applied on the Mercantile Bank could have an immense impact on the policies of Alico towards migrants. One proposal of Campaign GM Round II is to impress upon institutional shareholders, especially those with commitments to social and educational purposes, their responsibility for scrutinizing the policies and candidates for director of those corporations in which they hold stock.

Employees are also in a position to influence the public impact of corporate policies. Unions have recently been incorporating social concerns into traditional collective bargaining efforts. The United Auto Workers, for example, has begun to include demands for a nonpolluting car into its collective bargaining. And while these demands will obviously be compromised to the wage issues, they will be more vigorously demanded in the future. It would be a particularly useful tactic in industries of low consumer visibility. An example is Tenneco, a

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"GM controls 50% of auto industry sales, while Justice interprets any market share above 8% a violation of the Clayton Act."

large holding company that derives its primary income from Newport News Shipbuilding Corporation and oil and gas pipelines. It is also a major agricultural enterprise employing large numbers of migrant workers. Suppose the industrial unions of Tenneco included a demand that the company recognize a farmworkers' union among migrants. The impact of such a demand would be fundamental, especially since the demand is so easily met.

Coca Cola's treatment of migrant workers presents a different lesson. In 1960 Coca Cola bought Minute Maid orange juice and became one of the largest employers of migrant workers in Florida. At the time of the purchase in 1960, Coca Cola leaders must surely have known of the exploitation of the migrant worker in the Minute Maid operations—the labor situation is a crucial component of any feasibility study preliminary to purchase of a major corporation. For 10 years Coca Cola took no action to reform its policies towards the migrants. Now it is beginning to implement some reforms, but only after the activities of Cesar Chavez came to the attention of the president of Coca Cola, only after a television documentary and congressional hearings embarrassed the corporation. In short, only after Coca Cola's actions were treated as the *political* acts of a firm not exactly fighting for competitive survival.

Obviously, union employees have a power base from which to influence corporate decisions, but methods should be explored to allow employees like the Coca Cola migrant workers to participate in the normal decision-making processes of the corporation without the terrible debilitating effect of a strike. In Campaign GM Round II, for example, we have proposed that employees be one of the constituent groups that participate in elections for directors.

Consumers, too, have an obvious connection to corporate policies. So far, the consumers have only the laws of supply and demand for their impact. They are told if they don't like the product not to buy it—to buy another. But they have no real alternatives, for there is little product choice. A consumer cannot possibly exercise his traditional consumer powers to require production of a nonpolluting automobile. There are none available. And electric companies are caught in a fantastic irony, in which the advertising departments are constantly telling people to buy electrical power (as opposed to gas or some other source), while some other department of the same company is telling consumers not to use electricity in order to avoid a power failure. What kind of a system is this that tells consumers to buy electricity, but not to use it? It is like General Motors telling us to buy a car and keep it in the garage to avoid pollution, asserting, as they always do, that pollution is the responsibility of the individual consumer.

At the very least, if consumers played a part in corporate decision-making, they would have a voice in determining whether the costs of social innovations were assessed against consumers, shareholders, or the employees. Certainly consumers would not have been silent if they had been directly represented in General Motors decision-making during the last 22 years. In the period from 1947 to 1969, the cumulative profit of General Motors was $82 billion, yielding a return of considerably more than 20 per cent on total investment. If in that period General Motors had elected to take only a moderately excessive return of 20 per cent, according to the

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United Auto Workers figures, average prices on cars could have been lowered by $185 and wages could have been raised by some 61 cents an hour —or any equivalent group of employee, consumer, and anti-pollution measures could have been undertaken.

And consumer representation would also begin to break down the wall of secrecy between corporations and the public—a wall companies often act vigorously to protect, as when the Lipton Soup Co. cancelled its advertising in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* after a story on salmonella in soup, or when Publix and Winn Dixie food stores stopped advertising in the *Miami News* after an unfavorable story about supermarkets.

The nexus between corporate constituencies and decisions is sufficiently close that there is little dispute over whether or not these groups—consumers, shareholders, employees, and retailers—should influence corporate decision-making. The debate is only over the manner in which these constituent groups should exercise their influence. Classical economists say that the traditional rules of supply and demand and profit motive give these constituent groups sufficient participation in corporate decisions. We say they are not enough.

As one experiment, the Project on Corporate Responsibility, in its Campaign GM Round II,has proposed that General Motors employees, dealers, and consumers have the power to elect certain directors to the board. These proposals rely on the distribution of voting power to the corporate disenfranchised. Another route might be to expand ownership to these groups through stock distribution and let them vote through traditional shareholder mechanisms. In either event the objective is to give these groups a direct voice in the decisions of the corporation. Once within the corporation, they could augment their voices with inside information, the power of the press, and new political bases—just as the corporation now exerts its own political force.

Corporate responsibility does not stop at direct constituencies. It extends to the general public. Victims of air pollution or auto accidents may not own shares or cars, nor be employed by the offending company. Yet they are as affected by corporate policies as are the specific constituents. We have to begin to explore ways in which the public voice is also a part of corporate decision-making. This may become the heart of the issue, for many large corporations affect people relatively equally through product sales, pollution, employment, political power—everyone is touched. At least this impact is spread more evenly than is the corporate power held by a small number of well-compensated executives. And if we restructure corporate power to represent all the people affected, the public will find some large businesses "their business." We will move away from private fiefdoms toward corporate populism.

This does not mean that there is a new comprehensive theory of the corporation or any general ideological solution to the economic problems of the United States—far from it. There is mostly just a groping from one harmful, non-competitive industry to another—with a feeling that free enterprise has turned very sour among the giant companies. While there is grave doubt that the Department of Commerce or a nationally elected board of directors would run any one of these companies much better, the thrust of corporate reform is that we should no longer hesitate to challenge the sanctity of private enterprises which manhandle markets, nature, and people while swearing by competitive models of private enterprise. They have literally outgrown the models. There is now room for new laws, a broader corporate politics, public campaigns for corporate directorships, and a great deal of experimentation and debate. Perhaps then we can begin to turn Secretary Wilson's quip on its head. ■

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VIEWS OF THE PRESS:

Pure Thoughts and Dirty Water

by Dirk van Loon

Perhaps more than any other contemporary political issue, the ecology problem is a challenge of the will. We are all fervently against pollution, filth, earth-splitting, and noise—united in our opposition by the single-minded agreement of politicians and the media. And we know that environmental rescue will demand sustained effort and personal sacrifice, which in turn will require a generous portion of public encouragement and leadership.

In this light, I was grateful for the inspiration provided by the environmental editorials of the Washington Post, until I moved to Nova Scotia a year ago and took up residence near the Post's own paper mill. My shock was overwhelming—as if I had learned that Winston Churchill had run guns to the Germans, or that Ralph Nader was a front man for the FTC, or that Vince Lombardi had given his plays to the other team. I began a series of exchanges with executives of the newspaper and the mill, culminating in the following open letter:

Liverpool, Nova Scotia
November 7, 1970

Mr. Paul R. Ignatius, President
The Washington Post
1515 L Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Ignatius:

In 1963, the Washington Post bought, and still owns, 49 per cent of Bowaters Mersey Paper Company Ltd. in Liverpool, Nova Scotia. The remaining 51 per cent is owned by Bowater, Inc. Bowaters Mersey mill produces about 180,000 tons of newsprint a year, half of which goes to the Washington Post.

According to a Bowater publication, the paper company "is one of Nova Scotia's largest industries,

Dirk van Loon is a writer of children's books. He lives in Nova Scotia.

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pumping back into the economy every year approximately $8 million in salaries and wages." No one living here denies the importance of Bowaters to the local economy: this is a one-mill town, and there has been an understandable lack of public clamor over local pollution. But more and more people are painfully aware that the mill also pumps approximately 14.5 tons of solids (wood fiber, bark, grit, and dirt) and 180 tons of the chemical solution sodium lignosulfanate into the mouth of the Mersey River every operating day as waste products—none of it treated.

Solids and chemicals are flushed from the mill in about seven million gallons of water a day. Effluent from the main sewer outflow has an acidic pH of 4.8 to 5.2. Sea water, says a chemist at the mill, has a pH of about 8. The temperature of the effluent runs between 70 and 75 degrees Fahrenheit winter and summer, considerably higher than the average temperature of Liverpool harbor.

The Washington Post is printed on newsprint made from a mixture of mechanical and chemical pulps. In making the chemical pulp, wood chips are cooked in a solution of soda ash and sulfur. Each day when the cooking is completed, quantities of unmeasured and unmonitored gas are vented into the atmosphere. There is sulfur dioxide in the gas, a chemical which, in a reversible reaction, can combine with moisture in the air to form sulfurous acid.

On June 22 of this year, I inquired about the Post's plans for the Bowaters Mersey plant in a letter to your executive editor, Benjamin C. Bradlee. He responded with a prompt, polite note, telling me he had passed my letter on to you: "I know he is actively exploring the disturbing matters that you raise," Bradlee said. "Thank you for bringing this matter to my attention." During the next seven weeks, I wrote Mr. Bradlee twice—thanking him for his reply and later asking him to encourage at least some

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acknowledgement from you of the active exploration.

If I sound overzealous about the pollution in my neighborhood, it is partly because I have read and been moved by editorials in the Washington Post, such as "Facing the Environmental Facts" on March 18, 1970:

> The problem (of preserving our environment) goes beyond politics and technology into the social and psychological parts of Americans. This is what the politicians and other leaders should begin talking about: that the environment will not be saved—and ourselves with it—by some kind of vague, collective "concern." It will be saved—if it is saved—by specific, individual sacrifice of personal comfort and economic growth. This is a dismal thought, perhaps, but easier to live with than the environment we will encounter in good time if we do not face up to it.

What sacrifice of personal comfort or economic growth is the Washington Post undertaking in the interest of preserving our natural environment? There must be room for sacrifice in a company currently undertaking a $25 million expansion of its downtown Washington, D.C., offices.

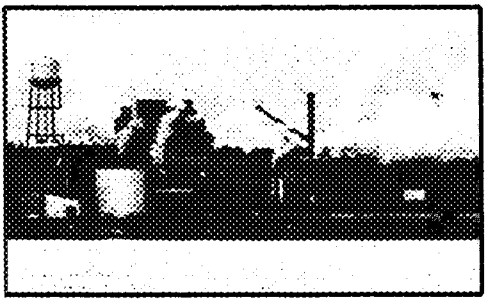
How concerned should we in rural Nova Scotia be over the stench from a pulp mill? A Washington Post editorial of January 4, 1970, "Getting Back to the Earth (and Air and Water)," makes the word "concerned" seem too gentle:

> Perhaps most alarmed are individual citizens, those who are sickened—literally and figuratively—at the putrid air, water and earth they cannot escape from, not even by "going to the country," because it is often worse there.

Indeed it is often worse there. The odor of sulfur dioxide is sharp and pervasive. It can be smelled 20 miles downwind from the Bowaters Mersey mill. Within five or six miles it is strong enough to sting the nostrils. In the immediate vicinity of the mill, occasional temperature inversions trap the gases. Lawns turn brown.

Does it really matter that the Bowaters Mersey mill dumps tons and gallons of untreated effluent into the Atlantic? On April 18, 1970, the editors of the Washington Post wrote:

> Unless the dumping of contaminants in the ocean can be stopped, "dead seas" are likely to become as commonplace as "dead lakes" are now.



On August 11, you finally reported on the Bowaters Mersey situation as follows:

> Upon receiving the June 22nd letter, I, of course, sent a copy to the management of the Bowaters Mersey Paper Company in Liverpool so that they could become familiar with its contents and address the questions it raised. I have been in touch with them since then by telephone. They believe the best way to pursue the matter would be through a meeting with Mr. M. G. Green, president of the Company, at a time convenient to you and Mr. Green.

In another month there was a letter from Mr. Green suggesting we meet to discuss Bowaters Mersey plans and policies concerning pollution.

We met. I learned that the mill is thinking of spending between $750,000 and $1 million over the next five years for systems which may recover up to 80 per cent of the 14.5 tons of solids now sliding into the bay each day. These recoverable solids, waste products from the mechanical pulp process, are mostly reusable wood fibers, and Bowaters Mersey is spending $160,000 in the next two years on installations which are designed to pick up about four tons daily.

These plans are heartening—at least until you discover that plans beyond the $160,000 investment are extremely vague and tentative, or until you find that company figures are not

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available for comparing anti-pollution investments with promotional expenses and corporate property acquisitions. ("We have to be discreet about some items," said Mr. Green.) The picture becomes dimmer when you realize that even the company's most optimistic plans would result in a continuing discharge of almost four tons of solid waste effluent a day into the mouth of the Mersey River after 1975. The beaches of Sandy Cove just west of the mill are drifted high with the rotting remains of weed chips and fibers, and the company has no plans to restore the miles of beaches.

Worst of all, Bowaters Mersey has no plans whatever to attempt recovery or treatment of the 180 tons of daily glut flowing into the bay from the chemical pulp process—in which about 150 tons of wood lignin combine with about 30 tons of sodium bisulfite to produce the lignosulfate waste effluent. This process acidifies the water, poisons fish and plantlife, and sends noxious sulfur dioxide into the air. The chemical wastes constitute 12 times the gross tonnage of the solid wastes, and they are much more harmful. The solid wastes from the mechanical process make the landscape ugly, but the chemicals make the environment downright dangerous. According to Mr. Green, there are no plans to install any system for treating this enormous volume of daily waste. One experiment now under way, aimed at lowering air pollution, will actually increase chemical dumping in the bay. It involves trying to remove sulfur dioxide from exhaust gases by bubbling them back through the sewer effluent.

The whole Bowaters Mersey situation is discouraging because victims of local pollution are obliged to shuffle between the company management, which professes to be enslaved to stockholder demands, and the principal stockholders, who generally stress their remoteness from the whole grisly affair and that their relationship to the mill is limited to the mail service.

You concluded your August 11 letter by saying that you would "continue to follow this matter, for the questions you raise are important ones." I find much less of the crusade posture here than appears on your editorial page. Your followship role seems much less weighty than one would expect from your dual positions as president of the Washington Post and board member of Bowaters Mersey Paper Company Ltd. Your publisher, Mrs. Katharine Graham, holds a similar position at the mill.

I grant that most, if not all, pulp mills pollute. It is a very difficult problem which may require sacrifices from everyone—although I think residents here have already sacrificed a great deal. But I would much prefer to see you and your editorial board deal squarely with the responsibilities of the Post's own newsprint factory in Nova Scotia. A candid, informative analysis of your corporation's problems in trying to cope with the devastating harm the mill inflicts on the environment would be more of a public service than your current practice of dispensing earnest sermons on the question of ecological will power while glossing over the Bowaters Mersey mess in your own front yard. In the absence of such honesty, editorials like the one on February 11, 1970, may turn back on you some day:

> The deep horror concerning the environment is not that we have ravaged and poisoned our section of the planet—but that we live with the horror so calmly.

Sincerely yours,
Dirk van Loon ■

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THE HIDDEN ARSENAL

You Can't Keep a Deadly Weapon Down

by Arthur Kanegis

Less than one year after President Nixon issued his famous restriction on chemical and biological warfare, the Pentagon has developed a technique that makes the use of deadly nerve gas on the battlefield tactically feasible for the first time.

The new development is tactical nerve gas, a "binary weapon" which consists of two chemicals that are non-lethal when kept separate, but deadly when mixed. They are packaged inside a mortar shell, kept apart by a "rupture system" which breaks them open only after the shell is fired. Fins make the shell spin during flight, thoroughly mixing the two chemicals in less than 10 seconds. When the shell bursts open on target, the gas escapes and kills everyone in the area.

The President's speech last year implied that the United States was cutting back on the production of lethal gases and bacteria, but binary weapons represent a major escalation in U.S. chemical warfare posture. At the same time, these weapons will eliminate much of the opposition to nerve gas, which erupted only after it was discovered that quantities of deadly gas were being stored and shipped inside the United States, and after 6,000 sheep were felled by gas in Dugway, Utah. Since binary weapons are harmless until mixed, they can be safely stored or transported. And since it requires about 5,000 times the force of gravity to rupture the containers, it is unlikely that even a train or truck accident could cause the chemicals to combine.

By doing away with any direct threat of gassing the American public, the binary weapons will defuse a large amount of the public opposition that has put the Pentagon's CBW program on the defensive and has caused widespread opposition to all CBW programs. After the old-style gas that is still around is detoxified, a tactical nerve gas will provide a new low-profile and discreet chemical warfare arsenal.

Last year, the Pentagon asked the Senate Armed Services Committee to block reenactment of the law which currently prohibits the procurement of delivery systems specifically designed to disseminate chemical or biological agents or their components. Military spokesmen argued that if the provision were "reenacted into law each year until the time for procurement of binary weapons, the fact of such procurement would be immediately apparent. It might be perceived

Arthur Kanegis prepared this article from a larger report he did for National Action/Research on the Military-Industrial Complex (NARMIC).

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by the public generally as an act of escalation of the arms race. . . ."

However, the Army gave up on this approach when Senator Charles Goodell threatened a floor fight which would bring about the very publicity the Army was trying to avoid on this perceived "act of escalation of the arms race." The Army withdrew its request, realizing it was actually unnecessary for fulfillment of the military's aims, for a special feature of the binary weapons is that the shell can be fired from the same 155 mm howitzers already in use in Vietnam.

The older, clumsier, doomsday gases were, like the big nuclear bombs, a product of the mutual deterrence era, when the very potential for total destruction of a country's population made it impossible for such gases to be used as long as both sides possessed them. The fact that the old gas could not be unleashed with surgical precision made it impractical for today's limited warfare era. Tactical gas solves this problem with the howitzer, which can hit a specific target away from U.S. and friendly forces.

With such easy deployment, tactical nerve gas seems to have some attraction for all branches of the military. The Navy, previously uninterested in CBW munitions due to the danger on shipboard, has shown a particular interest in binary weapons. The Air Force is launching a new million-dollar program in "chemical-biological defense equipment." The Army, which has traditionally dominated the CBW field, is particularly enthusiastic, since nerve gas now becomes "a tactical weapon to be used in the field." Even the Marine Corps appears ready for this new weapon, having said earlier that chemical munitions "are ideally suited to counterguerrilla tactical operations . . . . It is unlikely that guerrilla forces can obtain CB defensive equipment. Lethal. . . attacks over large areas by aircraft. . . offer optimum means for destruction of these forces. . . ."

To Calm Unsettled Nerves

While the military hasn't fully declassified its spending for binary weapons for fiscal 1971, it has become apparent that the figure will be at least $3.9 million for research and development, plus a large budget for indirect support items. Total chemical CBW research totals $8.6 million, lethal chemicals at $4.4 million, and simulant test support for the chemical program at over $2 million.

One budget item which accompanies the Pentagon's declared "major emphasis" on binary systems is the $21.2 million to be spent this year on chemical detection and troop protec-

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tion systems. Binary weapons would be poorly suited for battlefield use if the military did not have a way to detect the invisible gas and protect U.S. troops against it. The "modular collective protection system" is one of the projects the Army is concentrating on in this area, as well as the XM 8 portable nerve gas detection alarm and other alarms using lasers and infrared rays.

Without the old technical obstacles that served as natural safeguards against the widespread use of nerve gas in warfare, only moral and legal constraints now deter its use. These strictures, however, have only minimal impact on U.S. policy, as illustrated by the fact that after President Nixon's "ban" last year, and after considerable national and international outcry, almost no change in CBW procurement, deployment, or research has taken place.

In fact, while the United States renounced the first use of incapacitating chemical weapons, it continues to use chemicals in Vietnam that are defined by many countries as "incapacitants." It has done so by defining as "riot control agents" some weapons that an overwhelming majority of UN nations regard as gases covered by the 1925 Geneva protocol ban on the use of all biological and chemical methods of warfare. (The U.S. has not yet ratified the protocol.) The U.S. position that tear gases and herbicides now used in Vietnam do not apply to the protocol was rebuffed in the UN General Assembly last year by a vote of 80 to 3.

Such euphemistic terminology as "riot control agent" directly contradicts what the military itself says about its own chemical weapons. For instance, the U.S. classified the gas adamsite (DM), which has been used in Vietnam, as a "riot control agent," while the Army manual says that DM is not to be used in "any operations where deaths are not acceptable." And another "riot control" gas, CS, mixed with an unspecified "pyrotechnic composition" at the Edgewood Arsenal, was considered so dangerous that Dr. J.S. Foster, the Pentagon's director of Defense Research and Engineering, included it with nerve gas and mustard gas in asking the National Academy of Sciences to do a special report on how to dispose of it without major catastrophe.

Buy Binary For Safety

The range of weapons defined as non-lethal by the U.S. includes all gases—even mustard gas—except the nerve gases. The principal nerve gases, GB and VX, are two of the more than 10 different mixtures of chemicals being studied for use in the binary weapons. GB (the first of the G-series gases) was developed by the Nazis in World War II as sarin, a nerve agent which paralyzes the nervous system, causes muscles to contract, and halts breathing, causing death. V-agents like VX are even more powerful, though similar in effect.

By changing one of the plastic canisters in the binary shell, the type of nerve agent can be varied. While one colonel says this flexibility gives the advantage of helping to "find the best possible combination to produce the best effects on the battlefield," it might also open the way for after-the-fact confusion as to what gas actually was used.

The government does accept a ban on the use of such gases as GB, which presumably would include the new tactical binary weapons, but it only accepts the "first-use ban." This means that the gases would only be used in retaliation. It is widely known, however, that opportunities for vigorous retaliation have a way of surfacing frequently with strange military definitions.

The President's renouncement, then, does not prevent deployment of nerve gas, and even permits continued use of other potentially lethal gases. It also provides major loopholes in other areas of CBW operations. For instance, while his speech did ban any use of biological warfare, the Penta-

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gon tried to get around that ban by reclassifying biological toxins as "chemicals." When this attempt was discovered, it was abandoned. However, it seems that the biological warfare programs—which produce diseases such as pneumonic plague, tularemia, brucellosis, anthrax, glanders, and botulism—are still continuing with the rationale that such diseases are being produced solely so the researchers can learn how to defend against them. According to a recent story by Seymour Hersh of Dispatch News Service, one official said: "This sounds very much like what we were doing before."

The disposal of already-produced CBW weapons is still in the recommendation stages, even though a year has transpired since the President's announcement. The Defense Department is taking its time. The date set by the Pentagon for ceasing production of biological warfare agents is not until June, 1971. Disposal of inactivated biological stocks is set for an even later, as yet unspecified, date.

What all this means, incredibly, is that CBW funding for research and development has increased for fiscal year 1971, even though the Nixon speech pledged the government to eliminate and reduce programs. The military appropriations bill, passed by the House in October, now awaiting Senate action, includes a $3.3 million increase over last year's $71.6 million CBW funding. (Above the research figure, the military is also receiving $95.7 million for CBW procurement, as well as hidden funding for installations and support items. And despite the ban on production of biological warfare, $21.1 million of the 1971 research and development budget is for biological warfare programs.)

These realities will probably be further confused and obscured if the U.S. ratifies the 1925 Geneva convention, a step urged by President Nixon and submitted to the Senate. However, with the loopholes and unusual definitions, the ratification of the treaty will not change U.S. policy in regard to CBW. The Pentagon was able to declare on March 24, 1970, that ratification, assuming it were done with the Nixon Administration's declared understanding about what it does not cover, would have "no effect on the present chemical warfare program."

While a new international agreement could outlaw any CBW use by any nation for any purpose, the U.S. is currently supporting an agreement that would ban only the biological weapons, which are not tactically feasible like the binary chemical weapons anyway. The non-aligned nations of the Third World, Sweden, and the Soviet allies have been pushing hard for a total ban on production and stockpiling of all CBW weapons, biological and chemical. The U.S. and Britain are attempting to block such a total ban.

The results of President Nixon's heralded speech, therefore, do not bode well for any promise of civilian or international control over the Pentagon's decision on whether to use the new binary weapons. It is not hard to foresee an escalation from the current U.S. use of "non-lethal gases" and "crop control" defoliants in Vietnam to the tactical use of binary nerve gas rounds. ■

Answers to the November Political Puzzle:

A	D	D	R	E	S	S		P	A	C	K	E	R	S
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S	C	R	A	P	E	S		S	P	E	C	I	A	L
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U	N	I	O	N		A		A		C	O	U	P	S
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V	I	C	T	O	R		L		O	F	F	E	R	S
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THE HIDDEN ARSENAL

Tac Nukes: A More Personal Delivery

by Donald May

"Roll three dice. If the sum is three, the round is a dud. Notify the appropriate umpires and proceed no further."

If the sum is not three, the game is on. Choose your tactical nuclear weapon and turn to the charts in the back of U.S. Army Field Manual 105-6-2, the Nuclear Play Calculator, to find out how much damage you just did.

What, for example, if you chose the 100-kiloton warhead detonating 50 yards above the ground? Within 2,000 yards, 25 per cent of the people inside multistory apartment buildings are killed, 20 per cent are seriously injured, and 30 per cent are trapped in rubble. Within 1,000 yards, 85 per cent of the people in tanks or foxholes are "immediate casualties" and the rest become casualties within an hour. The trees will be blown down for 2,800 yards around.

Take your transparent plastic card imprinted with the circles of death and superimpose it on a map of Europe, Asia, or continent of your choice. Tabulate and analyze the results.

The Calculator, as its introduction explains, is for keeping score when U.S. troops engage in mock tactical nuclear war during field exercises. If the game ever became reality, the score would be determined by a special breed of nuclear weapons which the public has largely forgotten but which the United States stockpiles in large quantities in many parts of the world.

Donald May is a Washington writer who has covered the Pentagon.

While almost all the publicity goes to the ICBMs, submarine-launched missiles, intercontinental bombers, and, for defense, ABMs, the U.S. also has a vast array of tactical nuclear weapons that normally are deployed in a friendly foreign country, to be exploded there or on the soil of an immediate neighbor. They are battlefield weapons meant to attack an invading land army along with its supply lines, its forward airfields, or its own tactical nuclear forces. They could be used in a land war between NATO and Warsaw Pact forces in Europe, in which case Europe itself would become the nuclear battlefield.

Tactical nuclear weapons usually are omitted from Pentagon summaries of the U.S.-Soviet nuclear balance. There were only isolated references to them in Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird's most recent annual military posture statement to Congress, although Laird devoted three chapters to strategic weapons. They are apparently much in the background at U.S.-Soviet strategic arms limitation talks (SALT). And in recent years they have figured little in the defense debates in Congress.

Yet the United States has many more tactical than strategic nuclear weapons. While U.S. strategic forces total 4,200 warheads (not counting the multiple warhead MIRVs now beginning to be deployed), the U.S. tactical forces in Europe numbered 7,000 warheads in 1967, according to former Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara. His successor, Clark Clifford, spoke of 7,200 there. Informed sources say those figures are

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still roughly accurate today. There are probably several thousand more U.S tactical nuclear warheads stockpiled in foreign countries apart from Europe. There are presumably more in reserve at home, which could be airlifted overseas.

Take Your Pick

Although the exact numbers and locations of tactical nuclear weapons are secret, it is known that the United States has them deployed in from 10 to 20 countries around the world. They come in many varieties and strengths, and from the smallest to the biggest there is about a million-fold difference in explosive power.

The 155 mm and eight-inch self-propelled howitzers, mounted on tank chassis, can hurl ordinary explosives or nuclear projectiles roughly 10 miles. Their nuclear warheads would probably be less than one kiloton, the equivalent of 1,000 tons of TNT. They would fire at enemy troops, artillery and missile positions, command posts, and clusters of vehicles.

The Honest John rocket will carry either a conventional or nuclear warhead more than 20 miles. Its nuclear tip is, in the words of a Pentagon official, "in the same ballpark" as the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima, which was 20 kilotons and which killed 100,000 people. The Honest John rides on a truck-like launching vehicle and can be air transported. The United States is now developing a successor to the Honest John, the Lance, which will fire even deeper into enemy forces against troop concentrations, large numbers of tanks or other vehicles, and important military centers.

The Pershing missile, says an Army fact sheet, "is a highly mobile and quick-reacting system that was developed to provide the Field Army commander with a support weapon with a far-reaching 'Sunday punch.' " It can hurl a nuclear warhead more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb 400 miles. Fired from West Germany it could reach into the fringes of the Soviet Union. It is a "counter-nuclear" weapon, to wipe out airfields from which enemy planes, carrying nuclear bombs, might otherwise take off.

Atomic Demolition Munitions (ADMs) are nuclear devices which are buried in the earth in friendly territory along probable routes of an enemy invasion. They can be detonated by electronic command to block mountain passes with landslides, turn forests into tangled barriers of fallen trees, or destroy important highways.

Tactical fighter-bomber aircraft, land-based in Europe and Asia and on aircraft carriers in the Mediterranean and other seas, have with them not only conventional weapons but nuclear air-to-air missiles, nuclear rockets, and nuclear bombs, some of them measured in hundreds of kilotons. There are Nike-Hercules anti-aircraft missiles in Europe, capable of shooting either conventional or nuclear warheads. For a nuclear war at sea there are guided missile cruisers and nuclear armed anti-submarine missiles and depth bombs.

Some U.S. tactical nuclear weapons are so powerful that the distinc-

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tion between them and strategic weapons appears meaningless. Although the Army does have many small, sub-kiloton weapons in Europe, the average explosive yield of the missile warheads stockpiled there is 20 kilotons (the Hiroshima size) and the average for aircraft bombs is 100 kilotons, or five times Hiroshima, according to the Institute for Strategic Studies in London.

In a crowded country like West Germany, the unleashing of such arsenals could cause civilian death and destruction on a par with strategic war. U.S. military men say that by using the lower-yield warheads in the stockpiles and by setting the height of burst to avoid fallout they could reduce this "collateral damage." But even they do not claim that with existing U.S. weapons they could wage a truly surgical nuclear war which would only harm enemy military forces. "It wouldn't have to be Armageddon," one said, "but we don't mean to imply that a lot of people wouldn't get killed." One former Pentagon official has calculated that a two-week nuclear war in Europe might involve 750 U.S. and Soviet warheads blowing up each day and that civilian casualties might run from five to six million with a policy of restraint, and more than 100 million if the bigger weapons are used.

A Tactical Wilderness

Beyond the question of civilian damage, there seems to be no clear policy in Washington on what purposes tactical nuclear weapons serve and just how and when they would be used. "There are military contingency plans galore," says one Washington source, "but there is no rational plan." The Nixon Administration, through its National Security Council machinery, has been conducting studies to fashion a tactical nuclear weapons policy as the first step toward figuring out how many, what kinds, and where the weapons should be. The traditional military justification for their existence is to repel a conventional invasion, for example in Europe or Korea, where the enemy might have an overwhelming manpower advantage; to respond in kind if the other side uses such weapons first; or to demonstrate determination, by firing a nuclear warning shot or two in a remote area as enemy aggression begins. But the soundness of these purposes has been debated within the government. "Whenever we walk up to this issue," says one insider, "we find terrible complications, terrible uncertainties."

A brief listing: U.S. allies want a credible deterrent, but those allies do not want a nuclear war on their territory. There is no unanimity among experts that the NATO side would in fact be the relative victor in a European nuclear war; as some plot the war game, the Russians would end up occupying the devastated carcass of Europe. There are practical problems of how to manage a war in which airfields, ports, other transportation centers, and communications might be destroyed more or less instantly. Questions have been asked whether, under these conditions, military commanders could control their own forces.

These issues have received little public debate partly because the whole subject of tactical nuclear weaponry is shrouded in far more official secrecy than strategic weapons.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee's Subcommittee on Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad found that this secrecy tends to make the subject misty even among the government's own people. On May 8, 1970, the subcommittee heard testimony from Army Major General Richard G. Ciccolella, former chief of the U.S. Military Assistance Advisory Group to the Republic of China.

Senator Fulbright: Do you think we should maintain nuclear tactical weapons on Taiwan?

General Ciccolella: I haven't given that much thought.

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Senator Fulbright: Do we have any there now?

General Ciccolella: I don't know. I really don't know. That was not my business and I didn't get into that.

Two subcommittee staff members questioned U.S. officials about tactical nuclear weapons, where relevant, in visits to 24 countries during a year-and-a-half study of U.S. commitments abroad. According to one of these investigators, Walter Pincus, then chief consultant of the subcommittee, "It was hard to find people who knew the answers." Often no American officers were still around who remembered when and why the weapons had first been put there. The investigators found U.S. military officers in the field who didn't know whether the weapons were present or if so how they might be used. "There are U.S. ambassadors who don't know or who don't want to know," said Pincus.

In some countries U.S. nuclear warheads are present under general alliances or base rights agreements which do not mention the weapons at all. Nowhere, U.S. sources insist, are these weapons present without knowledge of the local government, but they speak of "knowledge" and not "permission." And it is clear that in some cases this knowledge was conveyed 10 or so years ago, and it is simply assumed that the present governments in those countries remember. There are certainly cases where the weapons have been present without public knowledge in the countries involved and where disclosure would create a local uproar and a political problem for the government in power.

The Nuclear Curtain

We established this arsenal, which now seems to be in search of a policy, during the Eisenhower years, when the prevailing military view was different and when there was a tactical nuclear policy. At that time, it was believed that the U.S. had clear nuclear superiority over Russia in strategic weapons, while Russia and the Warsaw Pact nations were far superior to NATO in conventional military power. Therefore, tactical nuclear weapons were thought of as a nuclear curtain that could deter Russian ground forces from invading Europe. Since the Russians were far behind in strategic weapons, there was little reason to fear they would respond to our use of nuclear power in Europe with a strategic attack against the United States.

By 1961, however, the Russians were fast catching up with the U.S. in strategic weaponry, and the old policy of massive retaliation was thought to be unsound, since it could lead to mutual annihilation. Also, the Defense Department was beginning to conclude that it had overestimated Russia's conventional strength; NATO wasn't so hopelessly outclassed in conventional warfare after all. But revoking the policies which had justified tactical weapons did not revoke the weapons. In fact, the number in Europe almost doubled during the first half of the 1960s.

During the second half of the 1960s, there were frequent proposals within the U.S. government to reduce the numbers of nuclear warheads overseas or at least to pull them back to positions of better safety and control. Consideration of withdrawing weapons often met opposition from the local governments. "If they hadn't always been there, their absence would not be a problem," said one U.S. official who watched this process for several years. "It was a political thing."

One step which was taken was the withdrawal, beginning in early 1967, of the Davy Crockett from the inventory of U.S. military forces worldwide. The Davy Crockett was the smallest of U.S. nuclear weapons. It fired a bulbous projectile from a gun usually mounted on a jeep. The power of its warhead reportedly was measured in tens of tons of TNT. The official Pentagon announcement of its demise said its role was being taken

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over by a more effective weapon, the 155 mm howitzer. But one main reason for the withdrawal was that the Davy Crockett was almost a foot soldier's nuke. It was the responsibility of infantry battalion commanders who had more things to think about than atomic age restraints. To be employed as its designers intended, the Davy Crockett had to go scooting about the countryside on its jeep, running the risk of getting out of touch or being captured. The howitzer came under artillery commanders, who were thought to have more stable lines of control.

Little Atom Midgets

Even without Davy Crockett, the problem of maintaining presidential control over tactical nuclear weapons, which are widely dispersed and which come under many military commands, would seem more complex than for strategic weapons, with the possible exception of Polaris submarines. It may become even more difficult if the proposal of some officials that the U.S. develop a whole new stable of mininukes down to the equivalent of 20 tons of TNT or lower is accepted. This proposal, which is supported to solve the civilian damage problem, is being pressed by the warhead makers—scientists in the Atomic Energy Commission and in the nuclear laboratories—who say they can build them as small as the customer wants, and by some Administration officials.

Some idea of what the weapons makers are proposing can be gained from a paper written last June by R.G. Schreffler and W.S. Bennett of the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory. Expressing what they said were personal opinions, Schreffler and Bennett envisioned a U.S. tactical nuclear arsenal of perhaps 50,000 to 100,000 small-yield weapons. With these, they said, collateral damage "can really be made insignificant—literally preferable to the devastation that accompanies conventional warfare."

Had there been the right weapons in Vietnam, they wrote, ". . .it is reasonable to ask if a successful defense might not have been mounted with discriminating use of nuclear weapons and far less collateral damage than Vietnam has already suffered." They said restrictions to prevent unauthorized use of weapons are so tight as to prevent their effective use to stop aggression and that steps should be taken to "simplify" the restrictions. U.S. tactical commanders, they said, should be given authority over weapons, under broad, general constraints instead of being controlled on a "weapon-by-weapon" basis. In this connection, Walter Pincus says military men he interviewed appeared to believe a point would come in the outbreak of war when the U.S. President would give the military blanket permission to employ nuclear weapons. No policy on this has been announced. But some Washington officials say no President would do that, at least at the outset. Instead, they say, nuclear attacks would be authorized by the President weapon by weapon or at least target by target, much like the bombing of North Vietnam.

The many-small-bang theory is beginning to meet resistance. "The smaller they get, the more troublesome they actually become," said one former official who now lobbies for arms control. He argued that the small weapons, like the old Davy Crockett, would be harder to control. Also, he said, their value would depend on the Soviet response. At present, Russia's tactical nuclear weapons are believed to be even bigger and radioactively "dirtier" than this country's. "If you are able to perfect a Davy Crockett," the former official said, "you have to be sure the other side has one, too. Otherwise, they come back with a great big dirty nuke." Some experts are not sure the Soviet military has any doctrine at all of controlled nuclear war to reduce civilian damage. Its theory may be to simply obliterate Western Europe as a threat.

Western European nations who

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face this threat have wondered from time to time who ought to push the button on U.S. nuclear weapons in their countries. They face the double jeopardy of collateral damage by U.S. weapons and retaliation by enemy weapons. In addition to its own tactical nuclear arsenal, Russia has some 700 medium-range missiles aimed at Europe.

As it stands, the final decision rests solely with the United States. The weapons are stockpiled in custody of U.S. forces in Europe, and only the U.S. President can release them to European and American forces under NATO command in a war.

The U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency has only recently begun to look into tactical nuclear weapons as a separate study. It has never offered a proposal specifically dealing with them at Geneva disarmament talks except as part of an ultimate plan for "general and complete disarmament." Tactical nuclear weapons pose difficult problems of verification of any arms control agreement because they are small and easily transportable.

The Russians would apparently like to see tactical nuclear weapons included in the SALT negotiations. They have argued that the U.S. weapons based in Europe could be used to attack them. The U.S. has replied that these weapons could only penetrate a short distance into Russia and are not an important part of the U.S.-Soviet strategic balance. One concern of the Nixon Administration is that, if the tactical weapons become a topic of negotiation in SALT, the talks then would involve the security of other countries, who might then want to join the talks. And if that happened it might be harder for the U.S. and Russia to use the talks to end their own strategic arms race. The upshot appears to be that tactical weapons have been in a sort of limbo in SALT, but it would be logical to think that at some point they must be brought into the negotiations, perhaps with parallel bilateral and multi-lateral talks taking place.

The use of tactical nuclear weapons may finally hinge on their name. While strategic weapons carry an automatic doomsday image, tending to assure that they will never be fired, tactical weapons do not. The issue is between those who believe the tactical weapons are so different from their cousins as to be socially acceptable and those who don't.

It may be that it all depends on whether the nuke is aimed at you, as illustrated in the following exchange between General Ciccolella and Senator Stuart Symington, in last year's subcommittee hearing:

Senator Symington: We have weapons in countries not a foot from the Soviet Union. Do you think that is right? They are about as strong as we are, nuclearwise. It is now pretty much of a stand-off.

General Ciccolella: I really feel that there is a difference, the difference being that ours are defensive, purely defensive there.

Senator Symington: You mean we put weapons right next to their border defensively, but object to them putting weapons 90 miles from our border because it is an offensive act.

If tactical nukes of smaller sizes become the strategy of the 1970s, and if the U.S. replaces ground forces in Europe with more such nuclear weapons, as some officials have proposed doing, then the questions of when is a nuke a nuke and when does a tactical nuke deserve a big retaliatory strategic nuke, will be even more clouded than they are now. "What they are," says one official, "is weapons to be blown up on friendly territory. No one but Americans can make a distinction between tactical and strategic weapons, because we are the only country isolated from the battlefield. The Europeans can't make that distinction. The distinction blurs for the Russians, because of proximity. We ourselves should stop making the distinction and consider them all just nukes." ■

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When Tiny Tim Gives to Scrooge

by Edward Flattau

It is about this time of year, with the holly on the hearth and the chill on the air, that man begins to feel the true spirit of Christmas and hopes to bestow on the world a joy that knows no self-interest.

Where can man turn at Christmas to bathe society with his true benevolence? Which institution understands man's spiritual need to give of himself and provides him an opportunity to do so? None does, I think, more than the banks of our nation and their popular Christmas Clubs. When the Madison National Bank of Washington explains that its Christmas Club "pays," we know they aren't talking about high interest rates. What they are trying to say is that the bank presents its customers the rare opportunity to give without gain, providing them a kind of yearly dividend for the soul, a way of expressing their support and gratitude to the bank that serves them.

It is impossible to think of a safer repository for the selflessness of the citizens. No institution needs the $2.2 billion deposited in Christmas Clubs across the country last year by over 16 million people less than the banks. When you consider that total bank profits rose 13 per cent this year, it is obvious that banks would do very well even without the additional profit on Christmas Club money that is deposited in non-interest-bearing or low - interest - bearing accounts across the country.

But it is precisely such a lack of need that makes the banks such a perfect recipient of the yearly gift of free money which they can reinvest at 10 per cent. True giving should never depend on need, but on love. Here is where the true genius of the Christmas Club idea is revealed, as the banks provide the opportunity for an unprecedented double dose of selflessness. Christmas Club deposits demand sacrifice from the hard-pressed savers, and sacrifice is an essential element of the true gift. But these deposits also have an additional virtue—uselessness. The banks don't need the money, and so there is no chance of that self-righteous glow, or the tax deduction, which so often follows charity for the needy. Christmas Clubs are the rare combination—the useless sacrifice—the spartan kernel of the Christmas spirit. And this year is the best of all to give your present to the bank, because this year they need it less than ever before.

Of course, some banks claim they

Edward Flattau is an aide to Representative Benjamin Rosenthal (D-N.Y.).

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don't make any money on the Christmas Clubs at all, that processing the accounts and taking in the dollars every month until Christmas is a long, tedious, and costly bother. One wonders, naturally, if the banks don't profit and if the depositors in the clubs lose interest they would otherwise gain through regular savings accounts, why the banks continue to press and push and advertise their clubs.

Part of the answer is provided by William P. Givens, president of the Merchants National Bank in Muncie, Indiana, who says, "Christmas Clubs are opened for the convenience of the small saver and to encourage thrift in children, poor people, and the elderly." If only Tiny Tim had joined a Christmas Club and not squandered his pennies during the year, he could have gone out and bought his own turkey dinner.

The banks make sure the pennies are not squandered. "Encourage" is perhaps a modest word. As the repositories of Christmas spirit, banks are not easily moved by people who join the clubs and then decide to back out. They are not eager to diminish the sense of accomplishment gained through seeing the money build toward Christmas. When a prospective club depositor in Pompano Beach, Florida, suddenly retreated from the spirit by asking, "What if I want to withdraw my money before the Club is finished?", a bank officer warned him:

"You can't do that."

"But what if it were an emergency and I needed the money?"

"Well, you'd have to see a bank officer and he'd have to determine if circumstances were dire enough."

Some circumstances aren't dire enough. When James Paul of Danville, Pennsylvania, was laid off work because his office burned down and then a week later his wife had a baby, he found himself short of funds. He went to his bank to make an early withdrawal of Christmas Club savings. The bank refused to release the money, but in a warm-hearted gesture agreed to give him a loan—at the prevailing rates.

Mrs. Sylvia Locket, of Jackson, Tennessee, had her $100 Christmas account paid up three months early because of a Mother's Day gift she received from her son in Vietnam. She wanted to take the money out a little in advance, now that she was caught up on the deposits, to take advantage of pre-Christmas sales. She was told it would cost her $5 to obtain her account funds "prematurely." Under the circumstances, the bank officials said, the $5 was being charged because her withdrawal "was the same as a loan."

You can't blame the banks for going out of their way to teach the people a little frugality—a penny saved is a penny earned, even without interest. And while the bank's temptation might be to get a little soft-hearted to the stories of Mrs. Locket and others, since it is, after all, Christmas, it takes considerable moral fiber for banks to remain unmoved, to charge the fines and the penalties and to take away interest, as some do, to protect the customers from their own anticipatory greed.

The depositors aren't always told, in advance, what the terms of their accounts are—that they will not get interest, or low interest; that they may be charged penalties or lose interest for early withdrawals; or that they might not be able to make early withdrawals at all. When they sign the application card which says "I agree to obey the rules of the club," most

often the rules of the club aren't even printed on the card. But candidness is not always as important as creativity, especially at Christmas, when holiday advertising is such a joy to behold. Who else could humanize the financial

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venture as the banks have done—with the monthly pay schedules and debits and credits hidden inside the fold, while the carolers and candles and tinsel hit you right away on the flap of the brochure. It makes a regular savings account, with interest, seem almost drab.

In some Christmas Club mass mail-outs, no effort is spared to benefit each boxholder. For instance, Riggs National Bank, Washington, D.C., sent a two-part card, one half for returning if you want to join the club, the other half which reads:

This card is impregnated with miraculous KLING. It will hold the needles on your Christmas tree.

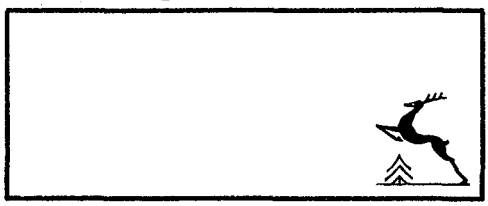
Just do this:

1. Scrape bark off butt end of tree, shake tree vigorously to dislodge loose needles.
2. Pour two quarts of water in a pail, then stir and wring THIS CARD into the water.
3. Stand tree in KLING water overnight.
4. Fill tree stand 3/4 full with KLING water and insert tree.

Needles will "KLING" to your tree and it will stay green!

No doubt the founders of the Christmas Club concept, the men at the Frugality Banks of Scotland in 1798, would never have dreamed that their clubs would come to such ingenious ends, probably inevitable after the clubs moved to the United States. In any case, the concept took hold here shortly after the Civil War; but in the early days, before the idea matured, the funds were managed only by businesses for their own employees.

The idea reached its enterprising fruition when Herbert F. Rawll, a stationery salesman, conceived of selling the Christmas Club concept commercially to banks. It was then, through typical American optimism, that the plan really reached the full limit of its potential, growing right along with the economic profit margins realized from the successful promotion of the birth of Christ. And now, at the pinnacle of its success, the Christmas Club Corporation of New York City can number over 10,000 banks among the clients for their happy advertising paraphernalia. Other such clubs, including Chanukah Clubs and holiday travel clubs, are springing up under similar arrangements.



Christmas Clubs received their first big setback on December 17, 1969, when Congressman Benjamin S. Rosenthal, perhaps conscious of the season, complained to the three federal banking regulatory agencies about banks' failure to pay interest on Christmas and other club accounts. He found that few banks outside of highly competitive New York actually pay for Christmas Club deposits. (On Manhattan, many banks have lost the whole spirit of the idea and are appealing to the customer's base greed by offering to pay interest almost like a regular savings account.) He also questioned the lack of any legal requirement that banks advertise their interest policy and urged an official ruling to correct the situation.

The official replies to Rosenthal's complaints were reassuring to club promoters. Arthur F. Burns, chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, said, "Few, if any, major problems have arisen in the Christmas Club field in recent years. Over the past three years, the Board has received no letters of complaint directly from consumers relating to Christmas Club accounts."

Rosenthal himself received many letters from irate consumers questioning the clubs, but perhaps the bankers are not easily convinced by people who have a vested interest in their own money and who seek to pursue personal advantage. What is a few dollars interest compared to the joy you get from giving that yearly dividend present to the fat, jolly bank nearest you. ■

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Gay is Good for Us All

by Suzannah Lessard

"Oh no, not the fairies too!" said a woman watching the Gay Liberation Movement march up Sixth Avenue last June, with a quizzical, good-humored expression on her face, as though they were so many puppies. "I'm from Ohio. I think it's funny," said a tourist. "I'd like to kick the shit out of them," said a clean, tense young man turning on his heel. No one quite knew how to react. Few grasped the implications or viewed it as more than either a circus or an abomination. But the marchers were confident. They had taken the trick out of the trick mirror; the invisible homosexual was now massively visible. With what seemed hardly more than a flick of the wrist they had upturned a whole new complex of bigotry and exclusion into broad sunlight, and the astonished prejudices could do little more than blink.

And once again, with the emergence of the Gay Movement, the old image of society as a vertical structure with one group holding another in subjugation was transformed into something more like a many-leveled house of cards, suits straining against each other, Queens standing on

Suzannah Lessard is an assistant editor of The Washington Monthly.

Fred W. McDarrah

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Knaves, one-eyed Jacks trumping Queens, the ceiling of one set forming the floor of another, with only one simple element in the complex of relationships—the position in the throne room of the white, male, heterosexual King.

The movement was born one night in August, 1969, when the New York police raided the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar on Christopher Street. It was by no means the first time—few of the many gay bars in the Village vicinity were immune to the arbitrary raids which usually ended in several arrests and many more bruises and broken heads. But this time, to the amazement of the Sixth Precinct, the homosexuals refused to take their punishment passively. The sissies fought back. Word of the brawl traveled, the gay community turned out in force, and the battle spread from the bar into what came to be known as the Christopher Street Riot, a free-for-all in which cars were overturned, fires lit, and police sent to the hospital. After that the image of the homosexual in the eyes of the world, and, more important, in his own eyes as well, was irrevocably altered.

Prior to Christopher Street, the two major homosexual organizations, the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis, were small and necessarily timid. Though Mattachine did make statements to the effect that homosexuality was neither pathological nor depraved, its objectives were in fact limited to helping the homosexual adjust within the society, providing social activities and legal and medical help, and backing conservative campaigns to change the more flagrant anti-homosexual laws. They were limited because their members were limited: homosexuals tended to be isolated and inhibited, having taken the one course they could really afford, which was to pass for heterosexual in order to pursue careers and life within the society, both of which would likely be destroyed were their homosexuality exposed. So their endeavor was not to battle the dragon but to sneak around it, to "get by" with a minimum of pain.

Furthermore, most people view the homosexual as a criminal and a pervert, an attitude deeply embedded in the culture; and it would take rare assurance for a homosexual not to let this attitude pervade his own image of himself and further deter his drive to challenge it.

Out of the Closet into the Street

Out of Christopher Street the Gay Liberation Front was formed. In New York and subsequently in every major city in the country, the Front recruited, held workshops, and started newspapers. Many of the members were also part of the New Left, and, like the women, they started by confronting prejudice among their peers, educating them to the oppressiveness of their attitudes and the problems of the homosexual. After 10 months they had grown big enough and become inwardly confident enough to organize a mass march up Sixth Avenue in New York. It was touch and go down to the wire, however. No one knew until the last minute whether more than a handful would actually show up, and few thought the march would reach its destination in Central Park without a violent confrontation with bystanders or the police.

But thousands and thousands turned out for the first big holiday from the closet. The festive mood was intoxicating. People in their Sunday best, their hippie best, lots of work-shirt and jeans types, a few fantastic costumes—they looked more like a peace march to whom the President had just capitulated than *homosexuals.* They just didn't *look* queer, and that fact registered everything from horror to discomfort to plain surprise on the faces of people on the sidelines. As one marcher put it, "So much has been accomplished in terms of who we are. We are people." And not only were they people, but they were evidently quite happy. The hap-

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py homosexual was supposed to be an impossibility. These together struck a solid blow at the assumption that homosexuality is in itself distorting, sad, and sick. Rather, it becomes clear that the conditions under which society forces it to exist are the causes of all those traits—deviousness, self-deprecation, unstable relationships—that we have been accustomed to linking inextricably with the way of life.

This seemed to have been a discovery for the marchers as well. After lives of secrecy and guilt, coming out into the open with the assertion "Gay is Good" gave them a healthy sense of self many hadn't known for years. "Coming out has been a delight," a woman recently told me. "It's difficult to imagine what it was like before. We are conditioned not to remember pain."

The briefest glance uncovers the depth of prejudice which the movement hopes to vanquish. The psychoanalytic tradition describes homosexuality entirely in terms of sickness, arrested development, unhealthy parental relationships, etc. Upon learning that a friend is homosexual, most of us, however sympathetic, have a tendency to conjure up an image of his mother. We assume that something has gone wrong, that the person has become homosexual for negative reasons, because he was unable to deal with some problem, and hence his choice represents a failure of sorts. The masculinity cult in America colors all our attitudes. Qualities like courage, effectiveness, and leadership are considered superior and are associated with virility, and conversely, the "feminine virtues" of tenderness, docility, and patience are considered of lesser importance. Men are expected to embody virility, and women maternity. Deviates from these roles are thought to be "half a man" or "half a woman"—and inferior in areas which have nothing whatever to do with sexuality. To most straight people, it is simply self-evident that a heterosexual is "better" than a homosexual. The notion that it's not a misfortune to have a child become a homosexual is as strange as the suggestion of one member of the movement that when a child discovers he is homosexual, the parents, not the child, should go to a psychiatrist to try to overcome their hang-ups about homosexuality.

> "Gay Lib and Women's Lib have played a crucial role in each other's development. Together they expose the underbelly of society in a more extensive, penetrating way than either could alone, uncovering the depth and extent to which predetermined masculine/feminine roles have governed social dynamics, not only allowing, but often forcing one group of people to exploit another."

The legal tradition is even harsher. In all states but one (Illinois), sodomy is a crime with sentences running as high as 10 years' minimum and referred to in such phrases as "infamous crime against nature." Under this legal umbrella, discriminatory hiring practices exist unchallenged. For instance, the Civil Service Commission handbook on personnel states flatly that a homosexual is not suitable for service because his condition would automatically impair his efficiency as well as "inhibiting" those who were forced to work with him. This policy was recently overturned in a District of Columbia Court of Appeals, but the decision applies only to hiring within the D.C. Circuit. Further, because many homosexuals are reluctant to expose themselves to publicity, Civil Service has been able to pursue its old policy within the District with few challenges.

The armed forces also have policies to the effect that homosexuality is an incapacitating condition which undermines discipline and makes the individual incapable of leading a constructive life. These policies have led to the

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dishonorable discharge of many men as well as Wacs and Waves. The women's services are one of the few areas where intense job discrimination against lesbians exists. In most cases lesbians, who can in any event hide their homosexuality more easily than men, are discriminated against primarily as women.

Beyond these formalities, anti-homosexuality permeates the popular culture. "Faggot" is a universal term of derision. Wherever homosexuals are protrayed in movies they are ridiculous or desperate or disgusting. The old man in "Midnight Cowboy" was revolting, and Joe Buck responded "naturally" when he hit him. The host in "Boys in the Band" was pathetic. Both lesbians in "Five Easy Pieces" looked ugly in a movie full of pretty people. These versions of the homosexual generally go unquestioned. They fulfill our preconceived notions and affirm heterosexual superiority.

It seems clear that this overall attitude is irrational, that there is no necessary connection between worthiness and sexuality, and that whether or not one considers homosexuality a sickness these policies and attitudes are a barbarous response. It would seem that attitudes towards homosexuality are far more unacceptable, far more degrading to those who hold them—as well as those who endure them—than homosexuality itself could ever be.

Sisters

Bonds between Gay Lib and Women's Lib grew early. It was a natural affiliation; they both were rebelling against roles predetermined by sex and felt oppressed by the chauvinistic heterosexual male. Both worked to develop a sense of self-worth against the long-accepted condition of second-class citizenship. The women were also struggling with the influence of the psychoanalytic tradition which, as Kate Millett put it in speaking of Freud, "assumed that to be born female was to be born castrated" and therefore innately inferior to the potent male. It was not a smooth affiliation, however. Straight women found they had to struggle with sex chauvinism in dealing with the gay men and were, in turn, guilty of resisting the lesbian within their own ranks for fear the movement, which was already being ridiculed as "a bunch of dykes," would be discredited. However, despite the resistance they encountered in Women's Lib groups, the larger percentage of activist lesbians has chosen Women's Liberation as their primary point of identification and Gay Liberation second, thus bringing the gay struggle into the heart of the women's movement.

On the whole, society seems to be less outraged by lesbians than by male homosexuals. After all, within the context of sex roles, the male is rejecting kingship, thus blaspheming what society holds most holy—whereas the lesbian is rejecting servitude, a futile act for one born with the indelible marks of a servant. Secondly, it has long been the prejudice of Western tradition that women endure rather than enjoy sex (Freud insisted that their only pleasure came from a masochistic enjoyment of pain) and hence sex between women is nonsensical. Thirdly, because a woman's homosexuality is far less manifest, to the extent that she can apparently function perfectly within a marriage, lesbians seem to be a rarity rather than a social "problem." If anything, men find lesbians titillating, a la James Bond, Pussy Galore—a challenge, something to be conquered, coerced into the proper reverence for their irresistible powers. On the other side of the coin, lesbians are the gravest threat to the sex role power structure, for they are at the bottom of the pack, the ace if you will, and independent of men—so that in rebelling they have nothing to lose. This is what has brought them into a unique position within the women's movement. As a Radicalesbian statement put it, "Lesbian is the word that holds women in line."

Fred W. McDarrah

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"And the culprit, the white male heterosexual king who sits in the throne room guarding his birthright, the recipient of all this wrath, what of him? Isn't the throne room as vicious a dungeon of his humanity as those in which he keeps his underlings?

The faces of men commuting on trains between affluent suburbs and their high-level work in the big-time world of the city are blank and worn beyond their years. They don't seem like people in the flush of fulfillment, the inheritors of the earth, or for that matter like cruel, arrogant nobles gripped with the excitement of power. They sit on the train between battlefields, wrapped in their newspapers, for a spell excused from guarding their titles, and they seem in this rare, unselfconscious moment a tired, dreary lot. It would seem that rather than the possessors, they themselves are the spoils of kingship. Their wives, however bored and discontented with their roles, have observed intimately the price their husbands have had to pay, and with the thought of that cost can turn to their laundry with a fleeting, perhaps, but distinct, sense of reprieve."

The resistance to homosexuals within the Women's Lib movement has not been overcome in all factions. The more establishment oriented, such as the National Organization for Women, have adamantly insisted on their heterosexual purity (though even NOW is expected to come out with a statement on lesbians in the next month reversing its policy). But in the more radical groups, lesbians have evolved a very special role for themselves. As one woman said, "As lesbians we are truly independent of men, and it's very important for straight women to see that that's possible. We just aren't dependent on that candy bar"—the candy bar being the hope for some form of masculine approval. Some women have even gone so far as to become "political lesbians"—that is, to become lesbians on purpose so as to utterly sever their dependence on men, presumably in order to eventually reenter relationships with men from a position of equal inner strength. That is certainly an extreme; a more moderate measure is for a woman to reply to the question of whether she is or is not a lesbian in the affirmative regardless of fact, thus reducing the word to meaninglessness and eliminating the fear of being called a "dyke" for stepping out of the homebody, "real woman" role which society has cut out for her.

So, though the relationship has been trouble-fraught (in some places they're not speaking to each other), Gay Lib and Women's Lib have played crucial roles in each other's development. Together they expose the underbelly of society in a more extensive, penetrating way than either could alone, uncovering the depth and extent to which predetermined masculine/feminine roles have governed social dynamics, not only allowing but often forcing one group of people to exploit another.

Ho-Ho-Homosexual

A sector of Gay Lib has extended its horizons beyond Women's Lib. A strong element in the Gay Liberation Front of New York brought radical politics explicitly into the Gay platform, ultimately causing a split within the New York group. A break-off group, the Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) was then formed. The GAA limits its activities to gay liberation per se and works, though militantly, within the system, while the GLF men consider themselves revolutionaries first. Though groups in other cities haven't split, the same elements exist in all, the more militant factions resolving their position within the whole by forming radical caucuses. GLF

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women in general identify primarily with the Women's Lib movement; the more revolutionary lesbians having formed their own group, Radicalesbians, which like the GLF/New York men identifies primarily with political revolution. These groups are by no means mutually exclusive.

The revolution-oriented gay men and women explain their fusion of the two causes thus (their arguments being greatly reduced here): the basic unit of the sex role structure is the family in which the woman performs menial chores for the man, who is thus freed to pursue more lofty ambitions. The family is also the basic consumer unit of the capitalist system, which stresses the connection between worthiness (you can read power here) and the acquisition of objects. This is directly related to the sex role nature of the family, in that among the objects a man accumulates is his wife (this is a version of the thesis that men treat women primarily as sex objects), hopefully beautiful, efficient, and at the service of his pleasure. This relationship between the acquisition of goods and power over women is emphasized unequivocally in advertising, the lubricant of capitalism in its function of engendering greed. Capitalism, then, is based on the assumption that people are greedy for goods —and the power that goods bring. It assumes that these basic facts cannot be changed, that social planning can only be corrective within the system, not redirective. The result of this power-acquisitive urge has been racism, imperialism, and sexism. Revolution says these "facts of nature" can be changed, but to do so you have to raze the system which nourishes them. In other words, to achieve true gay liberation you have to do away with capitalism which, in its present form, is deeply intertwined with sexism—just as in order to achieve black liberation you must dissolve the system, because in the same power-oriented manner it induces people of one race to beat up on another. And this is why the causes of the nigger, the dyke, the bitch, and the faggot are one and the same and why these Causes Incorporated must be geared to the overthrow of capitalism.

It is easy to punch holes in this argument, to call it simplistic, metaphorical, in parts fanciful, but that would be, I think, a dodge to avoid recognizing a certain genius at work in it. The genius is in great need of refinement, granted, but it is there. My reaction to the argument at this point is that somehow it doesn't manage to produce its own kernel. And while I'm no great defender of capitalism it seems clear that sexism, racism, and imperialism have occurred under every system, Marxism included, and that by doing away with capitalism you will by no means insure yourself against these evils. The revolutionary gays will agree with me there, but counter that while oppression can certainly exist without capitalism, the particular form of capitalism which has actually evolved is so deeply rooted in oppression that it would be impossible to purge the system without in effect destroying it.

The merging of Gay Lib and Women's Lib directly with revolution raises another issue: how do you describe these groups—are they a class, a caste, or what? This is more than a semantic issue, because the confusion in definition represents, I think, a real confusion within these groups in terms of who they are. The terms class and caste are really relevant only in a metaphorical sense; the social structure one combats as a gay person or a woman is far more kaleidoscopic, more mercurial than what one combats as an economically oppressed person. "People use the economic thing to negate the gay movement," said a black member of GLF. "They don't stop to consider how many gay people belong to economically oppressed groups." NOW is currently waging a battle with the FCC over the equal priority of sex and race discrimination in hiring practices: "Without equal enforcement against sex discrimination, employers are encour-

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> "Men have been the most rigorously programmed of all. From childhood it is impressed on them that they must be dominant, the strong, authoritative guardians of weaker human beings—and to the extent that they are, they are 'real men." To the extent they fail in this role, to the extent they betray "feminine" traits of docility, repugnance to violence, and also unsureness, a need for comfort, and timidity—to that extent they are "womanly." And in the eyes of society, the womanly man is a pathetic thing, indeed."

aged to discriminate on every other one of the prohibited bases—race, color, creed, and national origin—as long as they do so against women." But because women and homosexuals have numbers among the oppressed class does not make them as a group an oppressed class, though the dynamics of discrimination described above are very real and suggest the nature of the bond, of the common denominator which they share. Women and homosexuals, respectively, belong to groups, or kinds, with certain common traits which society has arbitrarily invested with symbolic meaning—i.e., that your value as a lawyer, doctor, thinker, is discernable through those traits—female, homosexual—which actually tell nothing whatever about your value in those capacities.

But whatever the exact role and definition of any group within the structure, all discriminations, as suggested by the NOW statement, aid and nourish each other—witness the KKK slogan "Don't be half a man, join the Klan"—and, conversely, there is a kinship between all oppressed groups. When one group relates its condition to another, however metaphorically, there is a sudden subjective realization of kinship which transcends all antagonisms. When a black man leers and clucks at me in the street I feel angry, helpless, and misused, but if I connect these feelings to what he must endure at the hands of whites, then despite my antagonism, nonetheless real, I feel a spontaneous sense of kinship. Just so, a homosexual's sympathy for the black cause is clinched into something far more compelling than sympathy when he realizes that to be black in a small town would be very much like being gay in a small town. This is why the GLF was so persistent in courting the black militants. They weathered ridicule and then abuse—black militants have tended to be a super-macho cult—but persisted and won the Panthers over to a recognition of the common elements in their plight. In August, Huey P. Newton wrote in a public letter:

> Whatever your personal opinions and your insecurities about homosexuals and women (and I speak of the homosexuals and women as oppressed groups), we should try to relate to them in a revolutionary fashion .... We must gain security in ourselves and therefore have respect for all oppressed people.... When we have revolutionary conferences, rallies, and demonstrations, there should be full participation of the gay liberation movement and the women's liberation movement... (they) are our friends... the terms "faggot" and "punk" should be deleted from our vocabulary, and especially we should not attach names normally designed for homosexuals to men who are enemies of the people, such as Nixon and Agnew. Homosexuals are not enemies of the people.

When recently the homosexuals marched down to the New York House of Detention, the prisoners leaned out the window and cheered. When they marched up Sixth Avenue one of the most sympathetic comments was from a drunken bum: "It's wonderful," he said, "they have a place in this world, too" and hitched up his ragged overalls. This is not to say all prejudices have been overcome within these groups; many Women's Lib advocates refuse to deal with gay men's groups—"they're male domina-

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ted, aren't they?"—and a heterosexual virility bias is undoubtedly still deeply entrenched in the Black Panther Party. But the contrary tendency is there and growing while the macho mood is fading.

When people realize they're all up Queer Street together, the bonds of kinship can grow denser and stronger than any of the divisive factors of class, or caste, or suit, or kind. Whatever your politics, the cross-hatching of supportive relationships which have sprung up in the far left, not out of expediency but out of a discovery of a real human bond and an energetic effort to overcome the most deeply ingrained prejudices, go far to controvert the notion of the "incorrigibility of human nature" which, whether or not it is the outgrowth of capitalism as the revolutionaries charge, seems indeed to have permeated social attitudes in this country.

The Spoils of Kingship

And the culprit, the white male heterosexual king who sits in the throne room guarding his birthright, the recipient of all this wrath, what of him? Isn't the throne room as vicious a dungeon of his humanity as those in which he keeps his underlings?

The faces of men commuting on trains between affluent suburbs and their high-level work in the big-time world of the city are blank and worn beyond their years. They don't seem like people in the flush of fulfillment, the inheritors of the earth, or for that matter like cruel, arrogant nobles gripped with the excitement of power. They sit on the train between battlefields wrapped in their newspapers, for a spell excused from guarding their titles, and they seem in this rare unselfconscious moment a tired, dreary lot. It would seem that rather than the possessors they themselves are the spoils of kingship. Their wives, however bored and discontented with their role, have observed intimately the price their husbands have had to pay, and with the thought of that cost can turn to their laundry with a fleeting perhaps, but distinct, sense of reprieve.

Just as the black militants for a long time seemed to be aspiring to the bourgeois ideals of the white society they challenged, Women's Lib groups for a time emphasized their desire to live like those men who they felt oppressed them. Those early days, again like those of the first black militants, were marked by simplistic rhetoric, humorlessness, and inflexibility. But as the movement developed, confidence was gained, and discussions began to probe more deeply, the realization evolved that the roles assigned to men were not enviable, but in ways as pernicious to the men themselves as to women. Men have been the most rigorously programmed of all. From childhood it is impressed on them that they must be dominant, the strong authoritative guardians of weaker human beings—and to the extent that they are, they are "real men." To the extent they fail in this role, to the extent they betray "feminine" traits of docility, repugnance to violence, and tenderness and also unsureness, a need for comfort, and timidity—to that extent they are "womanly." And in the eyes of society, the womanly man is a pathetic thing indeed. Since a major tenet of both Women's Lib and Gay Lib is that the division of "traits" between the sexes is for the most part arbitrary and without foundation in reality, it follows that men are as arbitrarily conditioned as women. A less vituperative look at that sex—and not just those stodgy commuters—reveals that the same behavior which women find oppressive is in many instances evidence of the strain their predetermined role has put on their humanity. Why do so many men compulsively talk louder than women, interrupt them, and make it difficult for them to contribute their side of a conversation? Why do they constantly have to make it clear that they are "important" and that they speak with authority, the more so in instances

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> "Gay Liberation has played a crucial role in dissipating the deeply rooted reverence for the image of the king-male. Many gay women had long rejected that image; and so, utterly indifferent to it, they provided straight women with living examples of independence from that candy bar. Gay men were in an equally unique position, for not only had they been victimized by those who play the male role, but they had also suffered because they had been *made* to play it themselves. It took women a long time to begin accepting lesbians, and it took the blacks a long time to begin accepting both the women and the gay people, because both movements have been trapped within the norms of the throne room."

where they don't have any particular authority? Why do they find it so painful to be found wrong, especially by a woman, sometimes insisting that they are right despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary? These very common ways, rather than suggesting that men are naturally overbearing, suggest more that they are insecure, fearful of insignificance, not strong and right, unable to dominate.

A most telling quality along these lines is the American heterosexual male's inability, in varying but widespread degrees, to laugh at himself. Even worse than being found wrong by a woman is to be joshed by her, no matter how friendly the manner. If she does so she is likely to be called a ball-breaker, a bitch, a dyke. Women, homosexuals, and blacks have in general been quite ready to laugh at themselves, admittedly sometimes to a pathological degree—the clown-like minstrel, the charming, absent-minded idiot, the mincing drag queen. But there is a wide territory between in which an ease with oneself and one's human failings provides a leaven without which self-seriousness, ambition, assertiveness—all good things in themselves—become strident, intractable, and dissociated from reality, more a liability to self-realization, not to mention peace and happiness, than an asset. It is significant that in the early days of black militancy and Women's Lib, members of those movements were, like the white heterosexual king they rebelled against, noteworthy for their lack of humor about themselves—as well as for other white male traits such as intractable insistence that they were "right" and refusal to let anyone else be heard.

These qualities have by no means been purged from those movements, but they have diminished considerably for many reasons, among them greater confidence, and a redirection of energies from a drive to parallel the white male oppressor into an effort to evolve a whole new image of man and society which will change things for the better for everybody, including Massah King. As time goes on and the movement develops, it also becomes apparent that those who retain the qualities of stridency and humorlessness are those newest to the movements, who have rejected the security of their designated roles but have not yet been able to overcome the sense of their own racial or sexual unworthiness. And so this behavior appears to be kind of therapy, a necessary stage, like a neurotic in psychoanalysis acting out his neurosis in the extreme before he is cured. This only reconfirms the notion that men act that way because they are insecure.

And why shouldn't they be insecure? No human being is omnipotent, all-knowing, and self-sufficient. Men as well as women feel sorrow and tenderness, fear and need of comfort. The accepted solution has been that when a man wavers and is afraid, his good wife should "build up his ego," to make him feel courageous and unwavering and important, all those things a man is supposed to be. The endeavor is to quell his real emotions

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rather than deal with them: repress, repress. It's little wonder that men shout, insist on constant service as evidence of their manliness, and have a hard time laughing at themselves. Not enviable.

Gay Liberation has played a crucial role in dissipating the deeply rooted reverence for the image of the king-male. Many gay women had long rejected that image; and so, utterly indifferent to it, they provided straight women with living examples of independence from that candy bar. Gay men were in an equally unique position, for not only had they been victimized by those who play the male role, but they had also suffered because they had been *made* to play it themselves. It took women a long time to begin accepting lesbians, and it took the blacks a long time to begin accepting both the women and the gay people, because both movements have been trapped within the norms of the throne room. The tendency towards fusion of these groups with each other augurs a motion away from stridency and inflexibility and towards the ideal of a world built according to human needs rather than according to power. The redefinition of those needs is a far greater revolution than any straight political rearrangement could in itself accomplish.

The king will be liberated when the whole pack of role cards falls—when he is not restricted by the king-male role. Much of the physical violence that wracks the country is committed by males between 15 and 25—the period in which traditionally a boy proves his manhood. The masculinity curse also drives the less gory but more common psychological violence, which pervades business meetings, dinner parties, and the home—as people pierce, jab, and scrape to wrest some form of triumph and have it saluted. It's the crying of uncle that's at stake in the worst cases, psychological submission, and the king-male must abhor that most of all. He strains to make sure someone is below and knows it.

The masculinity complex lives in our national throne room. The last three Presidents have been nearly obsessed with proving their toughness; Presidents have bled the nation white to keep from backing down in Vietnam—to keep from looking chicken in backbone warfare.

But when more men feel that they no longer *need* to be the king-male—or share his compulsive desire to be crowned, to reign virile and proud and appreciated—maybe there will be fewer bloodied people, fewer good things ravaged, and maybe even fewer wars.

Utopias have an air of death about them. Fortunately, they never come true. They are deathly because they omit the basic mystery of life and reduce existence to a smooth-running machine. Utopias are humorless. But Life, Death, Beauty, Ugliness, Good, and Evil are here to stay and will insure us against all utopias, so one can look at the vision projected by all these new developments without fear for the future.

The vision of these sexual freedoms is not a very full one, a kind of comprehensive liberation in which all oppressed groups unbind each other for a hazy new purpose. Reasonable as the idea is, it seems to exist in a thin, improbable future.

It also seems to include the seeds of disasters, such as large numbers of people, having no role assigned to them, going out of their minds for lack of identity—like a lot of bureaucrats without their bureaucracy. But as things change, the vision firms up and even becomes a little part of reality—like the Panthers' trying to accept the Gay Liberation people. A large part of it all lies in just getting used to separate ideas, such as that homosexuals are just as good as heterosexuals. America seems to be on the brink of a Dark Age which will tolerate none of these new ways. But on the other hand, as a man marching up Sixth Avenue on that bright euphoric Sunday said to me, "There's a lot of people in this." ■

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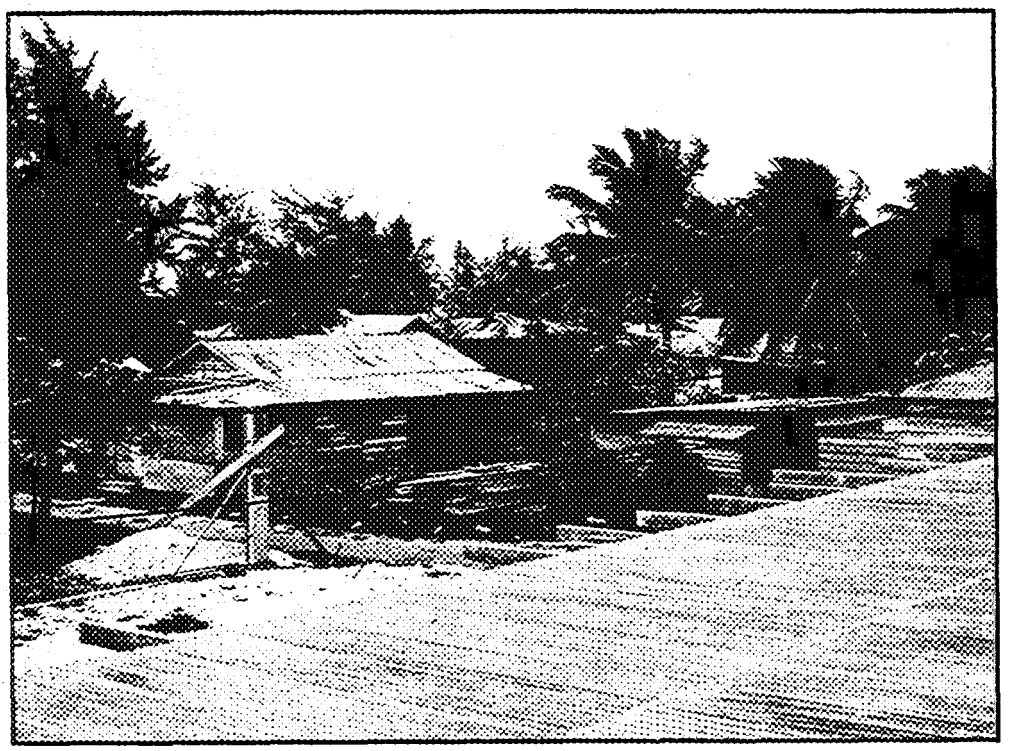
Colonizing Paradise

by Jerry Fite



One morning in early May, 1969, the Department of Interior's Land Management Officer for the Mariana Islands called me in my office on Saipan.

"Jerry," he said, "I wonder if you'd do me a favor."

"Sure, if I can."

"The Distad [District Administrator] asked me to arrange a briefing on Micronesian customs for some visitors. I thought you'd be good to talk about how the local customs affect Americans. You know, some of the do's and don'ts."

"Who's the briefing for?"

"I'm not free to say."

"Where will it be?"

"I can't tell you that either."

"When will it be?"

"It isn't definite yet. Probably tomorrow or the next day. I'll call

Jerry Fite was a Peace Corps staff member in Micronesia from 1966 to 1969.

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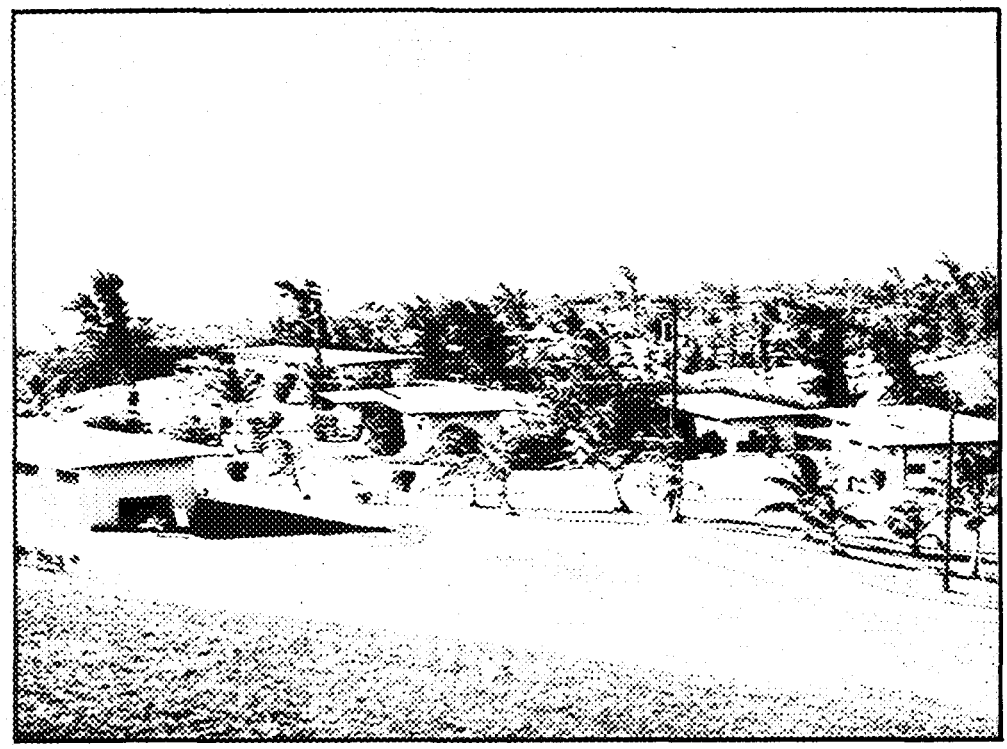

you a half hour before the meeting and pick you up."

After agreeing to the arrangement, I shuffled through my "hold" box and pulled out a letter dated a few days earlier. The letter contained the response from the Department of Defense to Congressman Lloyd Meeds concerning DOD activity in Micronesia. "The Department has no imminent plans for Micronesia," the letter said.

The day after his phone call, the Land Management Officer came by my office and picked me up in his jeep. With him were the Sheriff of Saipan and the Saipan Superintendent of Elementary Schools, both Micronesians. The Land Management Officer refused to answer any of our questions as we drove to the abandoned Eisley Field, now an immense overgrowth cut occasionally by a haphazard maze of old roadways and a con-

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crete airstrip. After five minutes of winding through the maze all of us except the driver were completely disoriented. We seemed to be going in circles. Each new turn looked just like the last. After one turn we almost collided with another jeep. It was camouflaged, and an Air Force Major in a camouflaged uniform sat at the wheel, a two-way radio in his hand. The Land Management Officer stopped our jeep, got out, and had a whispered conference with the Major. The Major spoke into the radio. "We're coming in," I heard him say. "There are four of them."

We followed the Major's jeep further into the underbrush. Three or four minutes later we emerged into a small clearing. There was an Air Force base—rows of camouflaged tents in neat order, some more jeeps, water trucks, and assorted military equipment, including a pickup truck full of garbage. The Major led us into an old Japanese communications building. About three dozen Air Force men were seated inside in a large room.

The Major introduced the Land Management Officer, who introduced me and the two Saipanese. Then the Major explained that the men had to have some relaxation, and he was thinking about letting them go into the village. Since he knew there was resentment and suspicion about the military on Saipan, he wanted us to brief the men on how to behave in the most inoffensive manner. The Sheriff was to explain the local laws, the Superintendent to explain customs and taboos from the Micronesian point of view and I from the American point of view.

All three of us began with a statement something like: "A good way to avoid initial suspicion and distrust is to not hide in the underbrush on Eisley Field." Then we talked about problems the men might encounter in bars, dating local girls, and so forth. The men were polite, but were bothered that people might not receive them well. All they wanted was a beer or two and a little nooky. They weren't going to *invade* the place.

The meeting lasted about an hour. We walked back to the jeeps with the Major. "How long have you been here?" I asked.

"Not long."

"How long are you going to stay?" asked the Superintendent.

"Hard to say."

"What are you doing here?" asked the Sheriff.

No answer.

I asked, "Did you hear the High Commissioner's announcement on the radio last week that no military activity would take place in Micronesia without consultation with the Congress of Micronesia?"

"We don't listen to the radio. We follow orders."

I never saw any of the men in the village. I went back to Eisley Field a couple of days later. Either I couldn't find the camp again or it was gone.

Climbing the Ladder

I went to Micronesia in 1966 as a District Director for the first Peace Corps program in the islands. For the first time, the Peace Corps would be working in an area administered not by a foreign government, but our own. The Office of Territories in the Department of the Interior has operative control over Micronesia. The President is represented by his own appointee, upon whom is bestowed the title "High Commissioner"—borrowed no doubt from a dusty British colonial manual. The Department of Defense is just plain represented.

Since the U.S. accepted administrative responsibility for Micronesia under a United Nations Trusteeship Agreement at the close of World War II, we had done, with the exception of military operations, an embarrassing job compared with the development generated by the Spanish, German, and Japanese governments during their occupations. Many Washington Peace Corps officials saw Peace Corps involvement as a means of saving face—of giving at least token indication

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that our military interest in Micronesia was secondary to the major purpose expressed in the UN Trusteeship Agreement: to ". . .promote the development of the inhabitants of the Trust Territory toward self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the circumstances of the Trust Territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned. . . ."

Going to Micronesia was like playing a character in a master satirist's novel. You entered Micronesia through Guam, a U.S. Territory. The first thing you discovered on Guam was that you had been given incomplete information on entrance requirements—inoculations, visas, Navy Department regulations—so you spent a few hours getting straight with customs.

The second thing you found was that only two planes each week went from Guam to Saipan, and the schedule was arranged, apparently with some pain, so that it was all but impossible to make same-day connections.

The third thing you found was that Interior's fleet of airplanes consisted of two DC-4s—one participated in the Berlin airlift, the other in some Pan American "first" in flying passengers non-stop across the Atlantic—and two SA-16 seaplanes. This fleet serviced the six administrative centers of Micronesia, which covers a total area the size of the U.S. No one, until Continental Airlines instituted modern air service in 1968, went to Micronesia without bringing some horror stories about airplanes back with him. In my three years, I flew 600 miles with one engine out, landed with two engines out, ran out of gas in mid-air, survived more aborted takeoffs than I can remember, and became a confirmed fatalist. The most graphic example I can recall of the air service was on Guam aboard one of the DC-4s, preparing to take off for a 14-hour flight to the Marshall Islands. We attempted to take off three times without success. After each try, the plane's mechanic would spend 30 minutes or so hammering on something and cursing the plane. After the third failure and more hammering and cursing, the mechanic opened the door from the cockpit and stepped into the passenger compartment. He grinned.

"Got the old s.o.b. now, folks," he said. Then he closed the cockpit door and the handle came off in his hand.

Once in Micronesia the satire became more wicked. The administrative centers in each District have been built apart from the Micronesian communities, on the highest part of each island. The centers are called "The Hill." On Saipan, the Headquarters for all of Micronesia is located on the old CIA site, on the top of a mountain 13 winding miles away from Micronesians. It's called "Capitol Hill." Housing for American Interior Department employees is built around each center—concrete-block, ranch-style houses which all look alike and cost about $25,000. On Saipan the Capitol Hill houses are built on various levels. Employees live on the level corresponding with their GS ranking —GS-13 on the lowest level, then GS-14, GS-15, and so forth. When an employee gets a raise, he moves some 50 yards to a new level. Micronesian laborers from the Public Works Department bring a truck, load all the household goods, drive 50 yards, and unload. The employee is welcomed into the social whirl of his new level.

The High Commissioner's house is at the pinnacle of Capitol Hill.

Because Saipan has so many American personnel, not all of them can live on Capitol Hill, so housing for GS-12s and under is built, on various levels, on the second-highest hill. It's called "Navy Hill."

Soda Pop and the Yap Zero

The first District I visited after Saipan was Truk, where some 50 or 60 Japanese ships were sunk in World War II (the Big One, Distads called it). Truk's District Administrator met me

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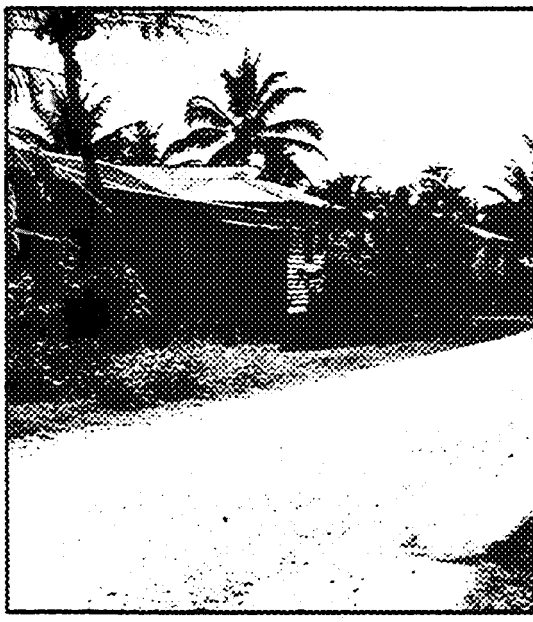
at the airport. (After another airplane episode when a sudden gust of wind caught the plane and slammed it down at the very end of the runway. We bounced back into the air, the landing gear was retracted, full power applied, and we managed to become airborne again. We circled once more, landed safely, and taxied to a stop. Then the "Exit" sign fell off.)

We got into the Distad's car and drove through the main Trukese village to The Hill. The Distad later confided that he couldn't drive through the village at night because drunken Trukese would throw rocks at his car. But he had a plan. He would give a party at his house on The Hill and invite some Trukese. Then the kicker: he wouldn't serve any booze. The Trukese then would see that you could have a good time without getting drunk. Stop the demon rum and you stop the rocks, he figured.

The Truk Distad was happy at first that the Peace Corps was coming. He had built some 17 of the concrete-block ranch houses for American teachers on different islands the past year. After building the houses, unfortunately, no money was left in the budget to hire teachers. That wasn't so bad, but now the islanders were throwing rocks through the only glass windows on their islands and were wrecking the only Danish-modern furniture. When I told the Distad that volunteers wouldn't live in the houses, but would live with Trukese families or in plywood and tin or grass houses like Trukese housing, he lost his enthusiasm. I suggested he use the American housing for additional classroom space, or for a dispensary, or for Trukese families.

"No," he said, honest-to-God verbatim, "the natives wouldn't take care of them."

One of our first efforts was to talk with District Administrators about economic development programs. The Truk Distad thought a good economic step would be to sell soda pop at the airport. With about 50 people per planeload, you could probably sell two cases of soda every time a plane landed. It landed once a week.



The Distad for the Yap District had an even more novel idea. Several Japanese Zero fighters had been caught on the Yap runway during the

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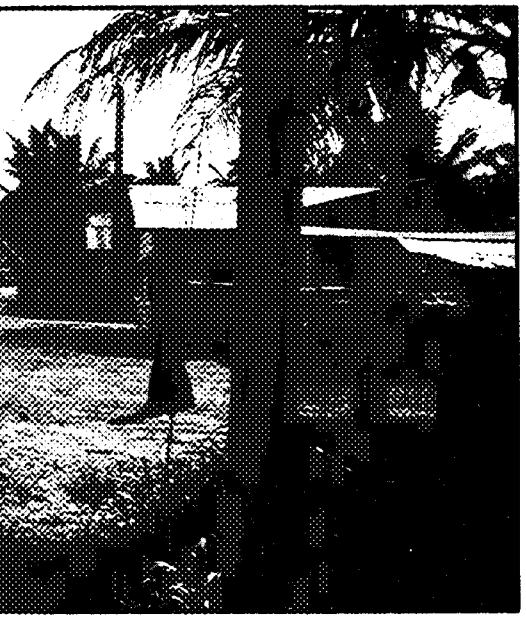

war and had been hauled away to sit and rust. The Distad wanted to salvage one of the Zeros, put it near the runway, and hang a sign from its nose saying "Lest We Forget." He thought tourists from all over the world would visit Yap to see the plane.

One significant economic development effort for Micronesians happened by accident. Bids were asked for constructing additional American housing in Palau. The low bid was submitted by a Palauan construction company, but the administration decided the company did not have sufficient experience to do the job, so the contract was let, at a higher price, to an American firm on Guam. The American firm subcontracted with the Palauan firm, which built the houses.

Of course, even the best development schemes suffer periodic reverses. World War II, for example, seriously damaged the Micronesian highway program. A goal for the Interior Department is to have, by 1975, as many miles of paved road in Micronesia as the Japanese had there in 1939.

The Ujelang Rat Affair

Once accustomed to the pageantry of the Interior Department's arrangement in the islands, Peace Corps staff and volunteers discovered multiple examples of American benevolence toward Micronesians which appeared strange, and which certainly flowed from a curious interpretation of the U.S. Trust. (Americans have been concerned about the integrity of Micronesian Trusts since Amelia Earhart's ill-fated flight to the islands, which grew out of our concern that Japan was violating her League of Nations mandate for Micronesia by developing military installations there.)

Among the things we found:

- The U.S. had declared some 60 per cent of the land in Micronesia "public lands" which have been or may be seized for civilian or military purposes by the U.S.
- We had shifted entire island populations from their homes for military purposes.
- We had conducted atomic tests on the island of Bikini, catching some islanders in the fallout, entirely sinking one island, and making the main island unfit for habitation for

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nearly 20 years.

■ We had taken the islands of Kwajalien and Eniwetok for nuclear testing, the development of chemical and biological warfare materials, and the targeting of ABM and ICBM interceptor missiles.

■ We had confiscated nearly one-third of Saipan island for a CIA training camp where Chinese Nationalists were prepared for an aborted attack on the mainland in the early 1960s.

■ We had taken advantage of the foreign/domestic confusion to establish an American/Micronesian wage scale where salaries are determined totally by national origin.

■ We had consistently denied Micronesian leaders' requests for a plebiscite through which their future political status preference might be expressed, fearing they would choose independence or a return to Japanese rule.

It didn't take long for volunteers to start raising mannerly objections to Interior's exotic plaything in Micronesia, beginning with the Ujelang rat affair.

The people of Eniwetok in the Marshalls were moved to uninhabited Ujelang when a U.S. military base was established on their former home. They were paid a modest sum (put into trust by the government) and forgotten. A decade or so later the first Peace Corps volunteer assigned to Ujelang, Todd Jenkins, pointed out that the island bore unfortunately little resemblance to the life the people had known before. The reef-fishing skills passed on through generations on Eniwetok were not applicable to the higher island of Ujelang. And, in comparison to the soil of Eniwetok, Ujelang offered bare subsistence. The island was visited once, sometimes twice, each year by a Trust Territory ship, but it was located at the end of the long Marshalls run; and the ship invariably arrived short of food, its crew anxious to get back to the comparative luxury of the Marshalls District Center. When Todd Jenkins was assigned to Ujelang, he took with him a single-sideband radio, required by the Peace Corps for support and for communication in case of emergency.

Shortly after arriving on the island, the new volunteer began sending messages to the Marshalls District Administration. The islanders were short of food, they had no medical supplies, they needed housing assistance, agricultural help, and on and on. But the most urgent request was for rat traps, rat poison, and building materials. Rats were nibbling the fingers, ears, and toes of the children. He wanted to build cages for the children to sleep in until the rats could be controlled. Trip after trip was scheduled for Ujelang, only to be cancelled. And when a ship finally arrived, some six months later, the supplies were not aboard. Jenkins thereupon sent a petition to the United Nations, with a copy to *Newsweek,* which gave it a full page.

William R. Norwood, then the High Commissioner, was furious. He called the Peace Corps Director and demanded the volunteer be sent home, observing that "we never had any trouble on Ujelang until the Peace Corps went there." But John Pincetich, Micronesia's first Peace Corps Director, refused to "terminate" his volunteer.

When the ship finally came to Ujelang again, and was once more without the supplies, the islanders paddled their outrigger canoes to the ship, boarded, sat on the deck, and refused to leave. Only when a sympathetic Trust Territory official agreed to remain behind as a hostage to ensure the quick return of the ship and supplies did the islanders leave.

So at last the point was acknowledged in Micronesia: there was a multitude of rats on Ujelang. The High Commissioner's cabinet discussed methods of dealing with them at one meeting attended by a Peace Corps staff member. Poisons, traps, costs, shipping. Near the end of the meeting, the High Commissioner disclosed his plan. He thought it might be less ex-

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pensive to send air rifles to Ujelang. Let the islanders shoot the rats. Accomplish two things at once: kill the pests and let the *community* get involved.

He told of an experiment he had conducted on a small, uninhabited, rat-infested island in the Saipan lagoon.

"Did it work?" asked a cabinet member.

"Well, it didn't take long to find a rat," were the High Commissioner's approximate words, "a big fat one. He sat there while I got a bead on him, just looking at me. I shot, and got him right on the hip. He sat there for a minute, still looking at me, rubbed his behind and scurried away. So air rifles won't work."

With appropriate laughter, the High Commissioner dismissed the meeting. "But what about the rats?" asked the humorless Peace Corps staffer. "We'll keep working on it," Norwood assured him.

"Life is full of inequities"

Besides Ujelang and general controversy over Interior's Rudyard Kipling approach to the comfortable Trust burden, Micronesia's political rights, especially regarding land ownership, were rapidly becoming a major issue. The Congress of Micronesia, formed in 1964 as a symbol of our democratic aims and used as a rubber stamp, had in its ranks a number of U.S. educated Micronesian leaders who could read, write, and think. They read, wrote, and thought mostly about the nature of American democracy, the terms of the UN Trusteeship Agreement, and their political future. Our interest in Micronesia as a strategic military area kept creeping into the matter. In late 1968 and early 1969, the discussion focused on strategic questions, as inspection teams from all branches of the U.S. military toured Micronesia. Assistant Marine Corps Commandant General Lewis B. Walt candidly stated that he wanted to use the islands in the Palau District as an additional Marine training site and that he would use Rota Island in the Marianas for "practicing assault tactics for establishing a beachhead."

Shortly after Walt's visit, the Palau legislature passed a resolution declaring any Marine Corps presence in Palau "unwelcome." The resolution speaks of the suffering, dislocation, and destruction undergone by the people of Palau during World War II. General Walt replied, at the time, that the U.S. could take any land it needed, but "good relations with the people are preferred." And soon thereafter, Norwood vetoed an eminent domain bill which would have given the Micronesian Congress a more equal say in the disposition of lands retained by the U.S.

Volunteers in the Palau Islands were again concerned. Since Norwood had repeatedly told the Peace Corps staff that he did not object to suggestions channeled through the administration, but objected vigorously to newspaper articles and letters to the United Nations or the U.S. Congress, we advised the Volunteers to state their case through the "proper" channels—the Trust Territory administration.

The result was a petition to Norwood, signed by 26 volunteers in Palau. The petition read, in part:

> We the undersigned urge you to reconsider your position on the eminent domain bill, passed by the Congress [of Micronesia] last summer and vetoed by you. In the last few months dissatisfaction with the land issue, as expressed by the legislatures of Palau, Saipan and the Marshalls. . .warrants, we believe, a reevaluation of the present law. From our experience in Palau, we know that land is the people's most precious possession, and that the Congress as their legislative body should have equal say with the High Commissioner in the allotment of public lands.

The High Commissioner finally had enough of the Peace Corps. In a letter to the Interior Department's Office of Territories on February 6, 1969, he said: ". . . I cannot accept or condone

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an extension of interest that takes the form of plots and incitement to the defiance of the Administration."

And when the volunteers joined with Micronesians in noting the apparent discrepancy between our stated goals for Micronesia and our performance, responses included the following:

"Peace Corps, they're okay. Except we have had some trouble in Micronesia. They were telling the Micronesians they should hold out for full independence. We can't have that." —Admiral John McCain, Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific.

"Independence for Micronesia is just not strategically feasible." —Mrs. Ruth Van Cleve, Former Director of Territories, Department of Interior.

"The Micronesian wage scale is not an inequality, it's an inequity. Life is full of inequities." —Rendel Aldredge, Program Planning Budgeting Officer, Trust Territory Administration, Department of Interior.

"We're not here to train Micronesians, we're here to stay." —Joe Screen, Former Commissioner for Administration, Trust Territory Administration, Department of Interior.

"The political objective (for Micronesia) supported by the Departments of State, Defense and Interior is the formation of some form of continued affiliation with the U.S." —William R. Norwood, Former Trust Territory High Commissioner.

"...a very careful and deliberate determination should be made as to how the Peace Corps' presence in Micronesia could be terminated or phased out." —Norwood's February 6, 1969, letter to Mrs. Van Cleve.

The Dim Side of Adoption

Last spring the Nixon Administration offered to make Micronesia a commonwealth of the U.S. Lazarus Salii of Palau, chairman of the Congress of Micronesia's Political Status Commission, responded to the offer in a speech to the Congress in July:

...Who owns—and should therefore govern—Micronesia?

I have always thought that Micronesia belonged to Micronesians and that Micronesians had the right to rule their home islands. I have never believed that the fact that other nations fought wars in our islands and waters and negotiated agreements, mandates, trusteeships among themselves when they were finished fighting ever affected the fact that we were Micronesians and this was Micronesia.

In peace and in war, this was our home. To others, it was a strategic area, a defense perimeter, a trust territory. But we considered this our home.

And in the last few years we have insisted that we have the right to rule our homes.

But now we must ask: does the United States acknowledge this right?

Underneath the United States' proposal, underneath all the talks of lasting partnerships and higher budgets, is a basic and continuing denial of Micronesia's right to self-determination. Because of this, we are told we cannot choose our future, but must negotiate, barter, beg for it.

The United States offers us a new name; this trust territory would become a commonwealth. But the United States would hold power over our land; the United States would preside over our laws; the United States would control our future.

Micronesia would become a permanent part of the United States' political family—that is the phrase they use—but eminent domain would remain eminent domain; veto would remain veto; Kwajalein [a U.S. missile base] would remain America and Ebeye [the island to which residents of Kwajalein were removed] would be Micronesia.

And Micronesia would become the newest, smallest, remotest non-white minority in the United States' political family—permanent and as American as, shall we say, the American Indian.

If Micronesia does acquire the permanence of the American Indian, the Interior Department of the future will be able to look down from its Dantean GS circular paradiso, down to the crumbling Holiday Inns, the discarded Zeros, the bombed-out island, the rats, and the rusty BB guns, and lament the fact that the Micronesians, just like Indians, don't know how to govern themselves. ■

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Memo of the Month

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT LETTER

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

OCT 14 1970

DPO PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT LETTER NO. 70-3

SUBJECT: Proper Office Attire

TO : All Employees, Office of the Secretary

We are frequently asked what the Office of the Secretary policy is with regard to proper dress. Because styles and attitudes about clothing have been changing so rapidly in the past several years, there is often doubt as to what is proper and acceptable dress for the office. We believe that some not-too-rigid guide-lines in this area would be helpful to all employees.

It would be impractical to attempt to establish a definitive list of all acceptable and unacceptable items of clothing for office wear. Certain items would clearly fall within one group or the other, but there are many which are not so easily categorized. Often, the nature of the work being performed, where it is being performed, and the season of the year will greatly influence dress.

As a general policy, employees should exercise good judgement and good taste in their dress. They should be groomed in a manner fitting to the surroundings into which their assignments take them. In any event, it is prudent to avoid extremes in both fashion and style.

When questions arise, it is the responsibility of each Division head to give guidance to his employees on matters of appropriate dress.

E. Hicks, Jr.
Director, Division of Personnel Operations
Executive Office

INQUIRIES: Employee Relations Branch, Room 4338 North, Extension 34925

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BOOKS:

A Policy of Paralysis

A Review by Bruce J. Oudes

Africa for the Africans by G. Mennen Williams.
William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 218 pages. $5.95.

The Great Powers & Africa by Waldemar A. Nielsen.
Praeger Publishers, Inc. 431 pages. $11.95.

The High Price of Principles by Richard Hall.
Africana Publishing Corporation. 256 pages. $7.50.

Only the most incurably naive writers persist in the dream of political change, majority rule, in far-off minority-ruled Southern Africa. To be obsessed with the metaphysics of American policy toward Southern Africa is an act of the purest faith, a sort of 20th-century Scholasticism. And Scholasticism is the correct word, for it is highly unlikely that their monkish fervor will lead to any meaningful developments in that part of Africa where white folks are still having their way.

This other Africa, consisting of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Portuguese-ruled Mozambique and Angola, and, by extension, Portuguese Guinea in West Africa is so far back on the burners of U.S. policy priorities that it is known as a situation rather than a crisis. American confusion about Southern Africa is still so widespread that most well-meaning liberals still feel that whatever attention the U.S. pays to Southern Africa should be concentrated on the linchpin Republic of South Africa. They seriously underestimate South Africa's strength, and they ignore a fundamental fact that Pretoria realized long ago: South African security is best preserved by maintaining the satellites of Southern Rhodesia, Angola, and Mozambique in white hands.

G. Mennen Williams, the symbol of the American honeymoon with African independence, was the first Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs who was a political appointee. And, at least to judge by his latest book, Waldemar Nielsen, outgoing president of the African-American Institute, has not given up hope he may someday be the second—the one to get America's Africa policy moving again, if that is possible. Both recognize the need to concentrate American efforts in the area on the South African satellites, but beyond that they have little in common.

As much as one would like to say nice things about the Michigan politician whom many in Africa remember

Bruce J. Oudes, whose "USIA, The Great Wind Machine" appeared in our June issue, is a Washington journalist.

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for his fractured French and open wallet for African sculpture, there's little positive one can say about "Soapy's" stiff, awkward, embarrassingly bland volume. It is short on personal experience, long on optimism, and—as Williams himself acknowledges—the ringing title, *Africa for the Africans,* comes from a quotation attributed to him, but one he never quite made.

Williams' perpetual optimism shines despite his preoccupation with communist penetration of Africa. On sanctions in Southern Rhodesia, he writes, "Rigidly enforced, [they] can in time make [Prime Minister Ian] Smith's supporters rethink their misguided decisions." Williams might better spend his time selling after-shave lotion in the East Village.

The book is a witness to the accuracy of the criticism that Williams was a lightweight in State Department infighting. Williams, Nielsen writes, "who swung an effective broadsword in the arena of general salesmanship and political speech-making, had neither the taste nor the talent for the fine épée work required in day-to-day internal staff debate." Nielsen confirms that in 1964 LBJ gave Averell Harriman "special responsibility" for Africa, thus effectively by-passing Williams, whose brand of innocence and old-time religion about Africa was a symbol of Kennedy-era African policy.

Nielsen, in contrast, is a cerebral liberal who has written a perceptive account of Africa's contemporary foreign relations. Tough-minded Nielsen reveals that he, like Williams, also carries the torch, although a less sanguine one.

"The issues of Southern Africa, once the Viet Nam agony is finished, are going to be the next foreign policy focus of the moral indignation of youth, the Negroes, and the American left," he writes. "A policy of passivity and compromise now—although it may seem to some a prudent course for the moment—can only reap another terrible harvest of bitter division in the United States in the future."

Nielsen's central idea is that despite its other concerns, the U.S. can take moderate steps to keep a "possibly avoidable disaster" in Southern Africa from becoming "probably inevitable."

This is not to say there isn't a good deal of what sounds like fiction in Nielsen's sober prose. He himself acknowledges this three pages from the end, confessing that "all recommendations for serious action" have "an air of unreality." As things stand now, "there is no political will in Washington and no effective political base of support for a change in the policy priority of Africa," Nielsen writes. "Until such a will and base are created, it is vain to spin out refined schemes of action." He does not bother to reconcile this with the need to keep the "possibly avoidable disaster" possibly avoidable, but then this is a measure of his despair.

Nevertheless, the roots of Nielsen's frustration are worthy of further discussion because he has written the most important American political analysis of Southern Africa in recent years. Historians in the next century will find Nielsen must reading in order to comprehend the American agony at this stage of the development of the Southern Africa civil war. He acknowledges that his own thinking has changed substantially, and in a pessimistic direction, in the five years since he wrote *African Battleline*. The Southern Rhodesian pill in the interim was particularly bitter. *Great Powers* concentrates less on specific measures dealing with South Africa; there is less reliance on the concept of joint international effort to bring Southern Africa to its senses.

"The illusion that some *deus ex machina* in the form of international or great power intervention, is going to bestow liberation as a kind of gift . . .is fast melting," Nielsen postulates. African nationalists will have to make meaningful sacrifices "and insofar as that may be necessary, shed the blood." The moderate steps he proposes are based on a policy of

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"creative tension," deliberate financial support of the nationalist movements and the vulnerable black governments bordering on the white-ruled countries. "Does *non-intervention* by the United States on behalf of the blacks under present circumstances not in effect amount to intervention on the side of the existing regimes?" Nielsen asks.

However, since the U.S. as a responsible power cannot appear to support violence, Nielsen rules out direct military assistance to either side. As a first step he asks for a "review" of U.S. economic and military aid for Portugal, including NATO membership, as well as the spectrum of cooperation with South Africa, including uranium purchase contracts, space-tracking facilities, and the flow of U.S. private investments.

Later, however, arguing in a global context, he urges that the U.S. goal should be for Africa to become a "strategically sterile environment" for the super powers. He calls for restraint on arms assistance and by implication a benign quota on Africa's military strength, thereby of course discouraging meaningful African "sacrifices" for "liberation." One must ask whether the notion of a "strategically sterile environment" isn't itself a form of intervention on the side of the existing regimes?

Nielsen also does a slow roast in the liberal purgatory over Southern Rhodesia. Five years ago, before Ian Smith gave Harold Wilson a working over, Nielsen climbed on what appeared a sturdy limb and wrote, "In the past the U.S. has perhaps taken too dutiful and passive a stance in its dealings with Great Britain on the Rhodesian question. And if British policy should now return to a limp and permissive attitude, then the only sensible course for the United States would be to separate itself from its ally and seek an independent line of action."

Now Nielsen terms Britain's policy in the intervening years a "graceless

The Washington Monthly BOOK AWARDS

The Washington Monthly wishes to recognize the best of those books that explore the processes and values of the institutions that govern America, the books that share our purpose of identifying where the system breaks down, why it breaks down, and what can be done to make it work. The awards will be for books published during 1970 and will be announced in the March 1971 issue of *The Washington Monthly*, which will have a special Political Book Supplement.

The panel of judges will include Townsend Hoopes, author of *The Limits of Intervention*, James C. Thomson, Jr., formerly of the White House and State Department staffs, now teaching history at Harvard University, and Mary McGrory, nationally syndicated political columnist of the Washington *Evening Star*.

Publishers and readers should submit nominations by December 31, 1970 to: Book Awards, The Washington Monthly, 1150 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

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spectacle." He writes, "Had any one of the new African states carried out such a contradictory, vacillating, and simply imprudent sequence of diplomatic and political actions, it would have been taken by many Britons and others as proof of African immaturity and incompetence." The U.S., he said, offered Britain advice in private, but "strong doubts have persisted as to the vigor and persistence of such attempts."

One therefore would expect him to recommend at a minimum that the U.S. separate itself from Britain on Southern Rhodesia, but he retreats instead into vacillation. If, as expected, the British Conservatives proceed apace in their determination to sell arms to South Africa and "do a deal" with Smith's Rhodesia, Nielsen will have yet another opportunity to revise his thinking.

Nielsen wrestles with American foreign policy toward Southern Africa and comes up with the ambivalent commitment which has been characteristic of recent Democratic Administrations—something must be done; reasoning will not suffice; intervention requires a resolution and confidence to use military force if necessary; non-intervention is best in the absence of such an awesome, arrogant resolution; yet something must be done. Current policy is much more in the era-of-negotiation vein for South Africa and the new African states, advocating hard work toward peaceful change, and is therefore more comfortable for the South Africans.

Through all the ambiguity, Nielsen calls somehow for a much more active and positive U.S. role in Africa than that forecast by Richard Hall, an expatriate journalist from Zambia now back in his native Britain. Hall's attitude is representative of many white and black citizens of Southern Africa. He writes that American vexation over its racial issues has produced a "swing of sympathy" in the U.S. toward Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. If South Africa or her allies were to attack Zambia, Hall says, "it would be rash to expect more from Britain and America than expressions of sympathy and speeches in the Security Council." Were China to attack South Africa, he adds, "there is every prospect that the U.S. would give help on the other [South African] side."

So complete is his pessimism about the U.S. that Hall wastes little space discussing the matter. Instead, he gives the most absorbing and coherent account yet written of the evolution of the Zambezi River front dividing white and black Africa. He even makes the rather dry stuff of Zambia's economic dilemma, particularly the machinations of the copper barons, into a first-rate cliff-hanger.

Together Nielsen and Hall can give an instant education to the reader who has never been quite able to understand the ins and outs of Southern Africa. By adding Nielsen's earlier work, *African Battleline* (Harper & Row), William Frye's *In Whitest Africa* (Prentice Hall), David Hapgood's *Africa: From Independence to Tomorrow* (Atheneum), and Bloke Modisane's novel *Blame Me on History* (Dutton), the overview can deepen into a rather sound appreciation of the realities of contemporary Africa—more valid than that traditional diet of Cary, Conrad, Waugh, Greene, and Hemingway.

Followers of Southern African Scholasticism are looking forward to a book by Robert Good, former U.S. ambassador to Zambia, now at Denver University, due within the next few months. Good has told the House Africa subcommittee that he was among those in the Administration in 1965 who failed in their efforts to convince the White House that the U.S. should urge Britain to use force against the Ian Smith regime. Good's current attitude toward Britain in Southern Africa therefore will be of much more than passing interest. One also hopes he discusses some of the questions that Nielsen skipped, most notably the implications for the world of South African nuclear weapons, which are coming.■

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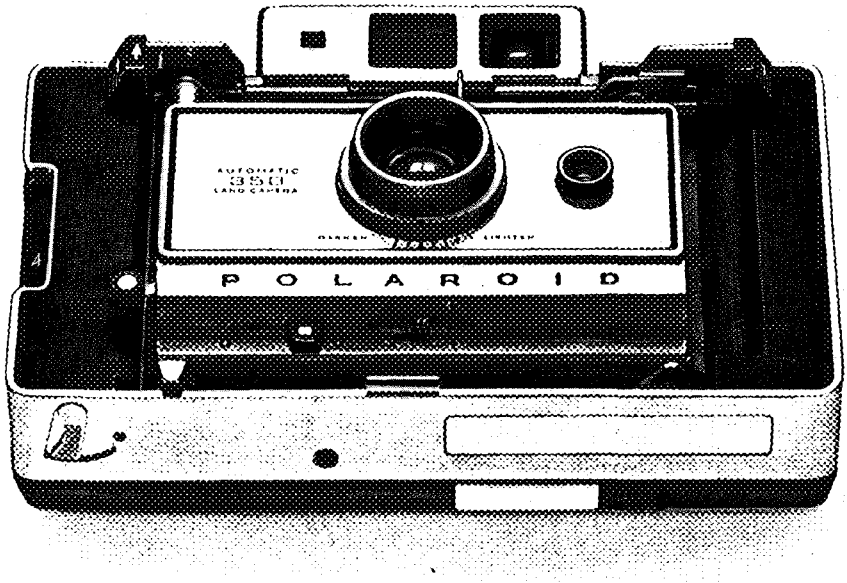

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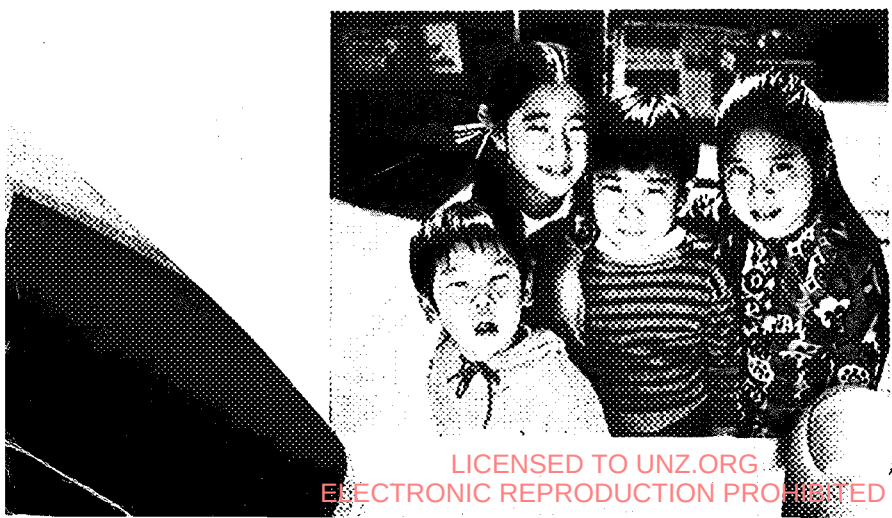

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